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THE *LITANY OF NAMES OF MAÑJUŚRĪ*

Text and Translation of the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti*

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Abbreviations:

BHSD = F. Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*, Vol. II: Dictionary (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1972).
BHSG = F. Edgerton, Vol. I: Grammar.
MM = *Nāmasaṅgītivṛtti* by Mañjuśrīmitra. Tō. 2532. Text from PTT vol. 74 pp. 171.1.1-184.4.8.
NS = *Mañjuśrījñānasattvasya Paramārthā Nāmasaṃgīti*.
PTT = Daisetz T. Suzuki, ed. *Peking Tibetan Tripitaka* (Tokyo: Tibetan Tripitaka Research Institute, 1956).
SV = *Ārya-Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgītyarthālokakara-nāma* by *Surativajra. Tō. 2093. Text from PTT vol. 67 pp. 251.3.4-262.4.3.
Tō. = Hakuju Ui et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons* (Sendai: Tōhoku Imperial University, 1934).
VM = *Nāmasaṃgītivṛtti-nāmārthaprakāśakaraṇadīpa-nāma* by Vimalamitra. Tō. 2092. Text from PTT vol. 67 pp. 233.1.1-251.3.4.
VV = *Ārya-Nāmasaṃgītiṭīkā-mantrārthāvalokinī-nāma* by Vilāsavajra. Tō. 2533. Text from PTT vol. 74 pp. 184.4.8-226.2.1.

If Vajrayāna may be considered the form of Buddhism most heavily endowed with ritual, the *Mañjuśrījñānasattvasya Paramārthā Nāmasaṃgīti* (hereafter NS) is perhaps the most popular canonical ritual text this tradition ever produced. Recited daily by monks and laymen in India and Tibet, it was the object of numerous Sanskrit and Tibetan commentaries, serving as the basis of multiple *sādhana* and *maṇḍala* cycles and becoming one of the great stabilizing factors in the transmission of Indo-Tibetan Buddhism. The scope of this introduction is to focus on some of the factors responsible for the rise of this singular text and to

For assistance with this paper I should like to thank Professor B. A. van Nooten, with whom I read the verses of the NS and who was always ready to assist and advise my studies. Moreover I am particularly indebted to bSod nams rgya mtsho (Ṅor thar rtse mkhan po), a true yogin and scholar who has opened up for me the world of Vajrayāna studies. I would also like to thank my mother, Marie Davidson, a *paṇḍita* of the English language who cheerfully provided assistance in making this paper readable.

yāvata keci daśaddiśi loke sarvatriyadhvagatā narasiṃhāḥ /
tān ahu vandami sarvi aśeṣān kāyatu vāca manena prasannaḥ//
Bhadracarīpraṇidhānarājasūtra I:1

give a thumbnail sketch of its history and utilization in India, Tibet, and the Occident[1].

The NS proclaims itself the 'process of realization of Illusion's Net' (*māyājālābhisaṃbodhikrama*, v. 7) extracted from the *samādhi* chapter of the great *Māyājāla*, a *mahāyogatantra* (v. 13 and colophon). If such a work ever existed in sixteen thousand lines, we have no record of it other than obscure references such as these. Nonetheless, there is a distinct morphological similarity between the NS and the *samādhi* chapter of the *Māyājālatantra* that is extant (Tō. 466) and to a slightly lesser degree between the NS and the *samādhi* chapter (chapter 3) of the *Guhyasamājatantra*. Verse twenty-six of our text begins with the pronunciation of each of the vowels as a distinct syllable. The first, the vowel *a*, becomes the most important of these syllables for the rest of the text, and in verse twenty-eight, *a* is identified with Mañjuśrī. Turning to Mañjuśrīmitra's *Upadeśa* (Appendix to the translation), we observe that this earliest of NS traditions considered the various figures mentioned in the course of the text (vv. 28-157) as proceeding from this syllable *a*. This "supreme syllable", then, is the seed syllable (*bījamantra*) for the entire visualization which accompanies the recitation of the NS. All the deities proceed from *a* and take their place in the *maṇḍala*. Approaching the NS thus is precisely in accord with the content of the *samādhi* chapter in the *Māyājālatantra*, with the exception that each of the deities in the *Māyājālatantra* issues from his own *bījamantra*, there being more than twenty different *bījamantras* listed[2]. Moreover, morphologically both this *samādhi* chapter and the NS may be broken down into an association between two units, a *mantra* followed by visualization instruction. Moving to the *samādhi* chapter of the *Guhyasamāja*, we find the same morphological circumstances, a *mantra* followed by visualization instruction[3]. The similarity between these three sections is striking, even if in content each of them demonstrates different vicissitudes. In addition their ultimate common inspiration appears to be the *abhisaṃbodhikrama* of the *Sarvatathā-*

[1] The NS was translated several times into Chinese, beginning with Dānapāla, who arrived in China in 980 A.D. (Taishō 1187), but the text never seems to have had an impact on Chinese Buddhism. I have been unable to make use of the Chinese translations.

[2] Vide PTT vol. 4 pp. 140.3.6-144.3.6.

[3] Vide Benoytosh Bhattacharya, *Guhyasamāja Tantra*, GOS 53 (Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1967), pp. 14-16. Unfortunately I do not have access to Y. Matsunaga's better and more recent edition (Osaka, 1978). Before the formation of the initial recension of the *Guhyasamāja*, individual chapters seem to have been floating and similar forms are found in other works. See Yūkei Matsunaga, "Indian Esoteric Buddhism as Studied in Japan", *Studies in Esoteric Buddhism* (Kōyasan, 1965), p. 239 n. 49.

gatatattvasaṃgraha, though there were undoubtedly other stages of development intervening. In that text we find the same morphological units obtain, but in a reversed order, the instructions coming before the *mantra*[4]. The instructions too, are of a slightly different character, discussing the course of events in the spiritual life of the Bodhisattva Sarvārthasiddhi, but they nonetheless occur in the form of meditation instruction to the Bodhisattva from the Tathāgatas there assembled.

Certainly the diachronic relationship between these two *samādhi* chapters and the NS is obscure. There is no *prima facie* case for ordering any one of these units as primary over the others, and they appear to have evolved simultaneously from this common inspiration in their own separate ways. They were perhaps removed from each other through geographic factors, and, heavily influenced by the religious vision of the individual *vajrācāryas* involved in their separate transmissions, retained something of this vision in their final forms.

In applying these considerations to the problem of the development of the NS, we may probably safely assume that the earliest coherent stratum of the text encompasses verses 26-162. This represents a basic meditative form complete with devotional homage in the final five verses (vv. 158-162). Glancing again at the *Upadeśa*, we find that this is the section of the text actually employed in the *māyājālābhisaṃbodhikrama*. The next stratum certainly represents an attempt to display in canonical form what began as the instructions of a *vajrācārya*. A new section was added in which Vajrapāṇi is shown asking for the teaching from Śākyamuni, and the Tathāgata responds (vv. 1-24). Mañjuśrīmitra seems to have first obtained the NS in this state of elaboration (vv. 1-162). His commentary shows no concern for the arrangement of the *mantra* (*mantravinyāsa*), the discussions on benefits (*anuśaṃsā*), or the final verses (*upasaṃhāragāthā*, vv. 163-7). In his *Upadeśa*, however, Mañjuśrīmitra makes it clear that by this time he had recourse to these items, and the entire text had further been divided into sections based to a large extent on the *maṇḍala*. Just who the author of these new additions was is unclear, but in all likelihood Mañjuśrīmitra himself had much to do with their formulation.

Definitely a consideration in the development of the NS and a primary concern of the commentators was the burgeoning development of the sixth family (*kula*) and its eventual relationship with the

[4] Vide S. Sakai, "Concerning the Pañcābhisaṃbodhi", (*Gosō-jōshin-gan ni tsuite*), *Studies in Esoteric Buddhism* pp. 397-409; consists of the edited Sanskrit text of the *pañcābhisaṃbodhikrama* of the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* with a Japanese translation.

conceptual framework of the Ādibuddha. The Ādibuddha did not, of course, indicate initially a figure who had any specific association with the early Vajrayāna and its practices involving *abhiṣeka*, *maṇḍalas* and so forth[5]. However, with the popular employment in the seventh century of the various *maṇḍalas* of the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* with their divisions into five families, it occurred to yogins utilizing such methods that the unification of all these families and their attendant forms of gnosis (*jñāna*) would constitute a sixth family. Thus there developed, probably at the turn of the eighth century, the figure of Bodhicittavajra, and his family was occasionally referred to as the *mahāmudrākula* (VM 239.1.4). Bodhicittavajra obviously represents a stylization of the thought of enlightenment (*bodhicitta*) as adamant (*vajra*) following the precedent of the yogin's body, speech and mind becoming adamantine body, speech, and mind (*kāyavāṅmanovajra*)[6]. This transformation of the simple thought of enlightenment also reflects some of the intense philosophical consideration which came to surround the concept of the *bodhicitta*[7]. I have not found evidence that Bodhicittavajra was ever considered the Ādibuddha; this distinction was reserved for the most important of the Bodhisattvas, such as Mañjuśrī, Samantabhadra, and Vajrapāṇi [in his form of Vajradhara]. Bodhicittavajra was instead the most important *jina*, and, as mentioned in the first chapter of the *Guhyasamāja*, all the other *jinas* were seen to reside in his heart[8]. His position was temporary, however, and Bodhicittavajra was soon supplanted by the figure of Mahāvajradhara, who combined within himself the functions of Ādibuddha as well as the *jina* at the head of the sixth *kula*.

Even given these factors of formation, attempting to date the NS with any accuracy is certainly a difficult task. To my mind attempts to attach dates to Buddhist tantras without reference to historically localizable commentators or citations by datable authors is premature, at least

[5] The earliest occurrence of the Ādibuddha in Buddhist literature seems to be the reference in the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* IX: 77, where the concept is refuted, there being no buddhahood possible without the accumulations of knowledge and merit (*puṇyajñānasaṃbhāra*).

[6] See the translations of chapters six and twelve of the *Guhyasamāja* by Alex Wayman in *The Yoga of the Guhyasamāja* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1977), pp. 25-36, which are relevant to our discussion.

[7] See chapter two of the *Guhyasamāja* (pp. 11-13) and compare *Māyājālatantra* chapter seven (PTT vol. 4, pp. 149.5.6-150.5.4), where the various *jinas* discuss *bodhicitta*. See also note 17 *infra*.

[8] *Guhyasamāja* p. 3.11-14.

until the literature has been systematically exploited for such references[9]. Therefore I have utilized the four earliest commentaries for assistance in understanding the NS: those of Mañjuśrīmitra (MM), Vilāsavajra (VV), Vimalamitra (VM), and *Surativajra (SV). Additionally, these four commentators were very influential in the direction that Vajrayāna as a whole was to take after the eighth century, both in India and in Tibet. While our earliest commentator, Mañjuśrīmitra, provides the *terminus ad quem* of the NS (middle of the eighth century), the *terminus a quo* may be perhaps half a century earlier (c. 700 A.D.) for there are minor differences in the recensions of the NS utilized by these ācāryas[10].

Earliest of commentators on the NS, Mañjuśrīmitra flourished in the middle of the eighth century[11]. Coming originally from Śrī Laṅka[12], this famous scholar devoted virtually his entire literary career to the study and propagation of the NS. Evidently he wanted to make the NS the center of an entire Vajrayāna system of practice so that every important religious function could be performed by a ritual or cycle of meditation that was in some way tied in to the NS. From the initial act of taking refuge, through the development of the thought of enlightenment, to initiation, Mañjuśrīmitra created ritual manuals linking every sort of *guhyamantra* practice then current in Buddhist India to the text of the NS[13]. Certainly a great deal of the popularization of our text was due to the focus of this illustrious Buddhist yogin. Nonetheless, in his commentary (hereafter MM) much of Mañjuśrīmitra's concern with the NS was to harmonize with Mahāyāna Buddhist tradition certain potentially compromising phrases and conceptual systems which appear quite outside the framework of Buddhist orthodoxy. Usually this presents no problem in interpretation, since much of the difficult terminology (*śāśvata*, *anādi* etc.) had already

[9] We should certainly wish in any event to avoid the very unhistorical methods demonstrated by B. Bhattacharya in his various works and by Alex Wayman in *Yoga*, pp. 97-102.

[10] See, for example, the apparatus to verses 122 and 144. I have not, however, systematically exploited the commentaries for variant readings.

[11] I suppose him to be the teacher of Vilāsavajra (*infra*) and possibly also of Śrī Siṃha; see G.N. Roerich, *The Blue Annals* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1976), p. 168.

[12] See Louis de La Vallée Poussin, *Catalogue of the Tibetan Manuscripts from Tun-huang in the India Office Library* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962) p. 109. For Śrī Laṅka as a center of early Vajrayāna see Lin Li-kouang, "Puṇyodaya (Na-t'i), un propagateur du Tantrisme", *JA* 227 (1935): 83-100.

[13] Tō. 2556-2568 and Tō. 2578 represent Mañjuśrīmitra's works which focus primarily on Mahāyāna ritual, while Tō. 2543-2555 and 2569-2577 are primarily Vajrayāna ritual manuals.

been introduced and justified in the *Ratnagotravibhāga*[14]. When, though, new material appears, Mañjuśrīmitra at times makes very improbable associations. Thus, in his explanation of the epithet Creator (*vidhātṛ*, v. 64c) for Mañjuśrī, Mañjuśrīmitra elaborates, "Since he has complete cognizance of wholesome and unwholesome karma, he is called *vidhātṛ*"[15]. Doubtless, the attempt is to employ the mathematical usage of *vi* √*dhā* meaning to measure, thereby rendering *vidhātṛ* as measurer. This is clearly not the intent of the author. Nevertheless, the pattern of orthodox interpretation for the purpose of rendering a text acceptable to the Vajrayāna monastic communities became the norm for most later commentarial traditions, particularly with the *yoginītantras*[16]. Utilization of these texts by the communities of *ācāryas* was in a real sense dependent on the above kinds of hermeneutic devices. Strangely enough, Mañjuśrīmitra's main and most lasting contribution had nothing to do with the NS but consisted of certain highly original philosophical treatises on the nature of *bodhicitta*. These retained some degree of popularity among Tibetan savants of the rÑiṅ ma pa down to the present[17].

According to one tradition recorded by Bu ston, Mañjuśrīmitra was the teacher of Vilāsavajra, while according to 'Gos lo tsā ba, both these ācāryas instructed Buddhaśrījñāna, founder of the *Jñānapāda* school of *Guhyasamāja* exegesis[18]. Vilāsavajra is in any event localizable

[14] *Ratnagotravibhāga* I: 12 and commentary.

[15] MM-*dge ba daṅ mi dge ba'i las yoṅs su mkhyen pas na bskyed pa po'o* / (178.21.6).

[16] See D.L. Snellgrove, *The Hevajra Tantra*, London Oriental Series Vol. 6 (London: Oxford University Press, 1971), Pt. 1 pp. 8-10 for Snellgrove's very thoughtful and relevant remarks.

[17] Tō. 2562 and especially 2591, the *Byaṅ chub sems bsgom pa rdo la gser źun*, which was quoted by gNubs chen saṅs rgyas ye śes [*bSam gtan mig sgron* (Leh: 'Khor-gdon Gter-sprul 'Chi-med-rig-'dzin, 1974), pp. 296.1, 313.5] and which is undoubtedly the *Byaṅ chub kyi sems bsgom pa* ascribed to Mañjuśrīmitra in the lDan-dkar catalogue [Marcelle Lalou, "Les textes bouddhiques au temps du roi Khri-sroṅ-lde-bcan", *Journal Asiatique* 241 (1953): 334, no. 610]. This same text was included by Koṅ sprul blo gros mtha' yas in the 19th century collection of the *gDams ṅag mdzod* (Delhi: N.P., 1971) vol. 1, pp. 203-212. Kennard Lipman informs me that Mi pham rnam rgyal (1846-1912) wrote a commentary on this text and that Tō. 2578 is also a commentary. This latter commentary is ascribed to Mañjuśrīmitra, but the ascription is doubtful, as Tō. 2578 speaks of Mañjuśrīmitra in the third person.

[18] Vilāsavajra has been referred to until now as Līlāvajra, the equivalent first given to the Tibetan sGeg pa'i rdo rje by Palmyr Cordier in his *Catalogue du Fonds Tibétain* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1909), vol. 2 p. 265, although he listed Vilāsavajra as an alternative form. Roerich and others followed. The name Vilāsavajra is given for our author in the colophon to his NS commentary in Cambridge. See Cecil Bendall, *Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,

in time as he worked with rMa rin chen mchog when that famous translator was studying in India, having most likely gone there shortly after his ordination (779)[19]. Vilāsavajra was noted for his seminal commentary on the *Guhyagarbhatantra* and for his short comment on the *nidāna* to the *Guhyasamājatantra* (Tō. 1910). It was his quite long commentary on the NS (hereafter VV), however, which had the greatest impact on later Buddhist developments and even retained some of its popularity down to the present. This great *vajrācārya* wove into the structure of VV both an elaborate commentary and a ritual method, having adopted with some minor changes much of the ritual structure first established by Mañjuśrīmitra[20]. For historical purposes the commentary is magnificent in its citations from a wide range of Buddhist texts, most of them important Vajrayāna works. Perhaps the most startling of the citations are several from the *Laghusaṃvaratantra*

1883), p. 204. This is in agreement with Sakaki ed. *Mahāvyutpatti* (Kyoto, 1916-26) no. 7132, which lists *sgeg pa* as the equivalent of *lāsya*. Perhaps we should expect *rnam par sgeg pa*, but there appear to be instances of the elimination of *upasargas* in the translation of names into Tibetan, especially during the early period (*sṅa 'gyur*). I have not been able to find *sgeg pa* ever given as the equivalent to *līlā* in any of the various indexes which we now possess. Additionally, names of Vajrācāryas at that time seem to have been drawn from the lists in the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*, definitely one of the most influential texts in eighth century Buddhist India. So we find Amoghavajra, Karmavajra, Vajrahāsa and so forth taken as personal names. Vilāsavajra occurs in the Sanskrit text of the *Tattvasaṃgraha*, but I have not been able to locate a līlāvajra. See K. Horiuchi, "The Romanized Text of the *Sarva-Tathāgata-saṃgraha*", *Mikkyō Bunka* 103 (July 1973): 72. Vilāsavajra is listed in the same Sanskrit colophon as a resident of Ratnadvīpa. Could this be the well-known *vihāra* of Ratnagiri in Orissa? Alternatively, the colophon to his commentary on the *Guhyagarbhatantra* lists Vilāsavajra as an *ācārya* from Nālandā; Sanje Dorje, ed., *Commentaries on the Guhyagarbha Tantra and Other Rare Nyingmapa Texts from the Library of Dudjom Rinpoche* (New Delhi, 1974) p. 222.5. See note 22 *infra* for a possible solution to this inconsistency. For the relationship between Mañjuśrīmitra, Vilāsavajra, and Buddhaśrījñāna, vide *Blue Annals*, pp. 367-9.

[19] See the recent edition of the *rÑiṅ ma rgyud 'bum* published by Dingo Chentse Rimpoche (Bhutan, 1973), in which the *Devījālamahāmāyā-tantra-nāma* (= Tō. 836) is described in its colophon (vol. 15 p. 96.7) and the *dkar chag* (vol. 36 p. 512.5) as having been translated by Ācārya Vilāsavajra and rMa rin chen mchog. This is in accord with the colophon of Vilāsavajra's commentary on the *Guhyagarbhatantra* which lists rMa rin chen mchog as the translator. Sanje Dorje, *Commentaries*, p. 222.5. In this colophon we also read a benediction for the long life of Khri sroṅ lde'u btsan, which points to the translation as done in the life of the king. I have taken almost all of my dates for this early period from Giuseppe Tucci, *Minor Buddhist Texts*, SOR IX:2 (Rome ISMEO, 1958). Tucci's acumen in dating this early material is superb. Most of my other dates are from Dhongthog Rinpoche's very useful *Important Events in Tibetan History* (Delhi, 1968).

[20] Compare Mañjuśrīmitra's *Upadeśa* (Appendix) and Tō. 2543-47 to VV 188.4.3-191.2.6.

(*bDe mchog gi rgyud*, Tō. 368) both in VV and in Vilāsavajra's commentary on the *Guhyagarbhatantra*; together they certify the existence of *yoginītantras* in the latter half of the eighth century, well before the earliest datable commentary[21]. The ritual given in VV became the basis of the popular sādhana to Guhyāpanna (Gsaṅ ldan, Tō. 2579) by Agrabodhi (Byaṅ chub mchog). This line of NS exegesis and practice begun by Vilāsavajra was eventually transmitted to Tibet in the beginning of the eleventh century by the Paṇḍita Smṛtijñānakīrti[22].

[21] Vide VV 185.4.7, 203.1.5, 203.2.6, 203.4.5, 203.5.5, 204.3.4, 220.1.7 and 221.2.6. See also Sanje Dorje, *Commentaries*, p. 7.2. Additionally, there are indications that there existed *tantras* of an *anuttarayoga* type at an earlier date. We find this exciting argument in Dharmakīrti's *Svavṛtti* on his own *Pramāṇavārttika*:

> Objection: There is accomplishment (*siddhi*) or lack of accomplishment either when there is the increase of *dharma* or *adharma* by means of ascetic practices or falling [into *saṃsāra*] etc., or [alternatively, accomplishment and its lack occur] naturally in those having the nature of *dharma* or *adharma*.
>
> Reply: That is not the case at all since there is the teaching in the *ḍākinī* and *bhaginī tantras* of numerous ascetic practices involving perverse actions (*hīnakarma*) which contradict *dharma* such as cruelty, stealing, sexual intercourse and so forth. Since there is even by these actions the specific characteristic of accomplishment, we will teach according to the occasion, that the proper nature of *dharma* is not as you say.
>
> *vratacaryābhraṃśādinā dharmādharmopacaye dharmādharmātmanor vā prakṛtyā siddhyasiddhī iti cet / na / dharmaviruddhānām api krauryasteyamaithunahīnakarmādibahulānāṃ vratānāṃ ḍākinībhaginītantrādiṣu darśanāt / taiś ca siddhiviśeṣāt* (sic) */ na caivaṃvidho dharmasvabhāva iti ca yathāvasaraṃ nivedayiṣyāmaḥ /* (*Vṛtti* to v. 308).

Raniero Gnoli, *The Pramāṇavārttikam of Dharmakīrti*, SOR XXIII (Rome: ISMEO, 1960), p. 163.1-6. cf. v. 309 and the *Vṛtti* on v. 243 especially pp. 123.20-124.2. Dharmakīrti is given the dates 600-660 A.D. by E. Frauwallner in his "Landmarks in the History of Indian Logic", *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Süd- und Ost-Asiens* 5 (1961), pp. 137-9. The precise significance, however, of this passage is unclear. Whether the *ḍākinītantras* known to Dharmakīrti are the same as those known to us is questionable, despite the similarity of practices listed and those expounded in the *Cakrasaṃvara* etc. We should note however, that the same argument, viz. the result of actions being dependent on the individuals performing them, became one of the most potent arguments in favour of the utilization of the senses for the purpose of liberation. Compare *Hevajra Tantra* II.ii:46-51.

[22] See the Introduction to *Encyclopedia Tibetica* (New Delhi: Tibet House, 1972), vol. 3 p. 4 for the best outline to date of the life of Smṛtijñānakīrti. The colophons for VV mention that the names Agrabodhi and Viśvarūpa are other appellations for Vilāsavajra. Although *vajrācāryas* certainly have been known to have more than one name, I am dubious about this particular instance. The *sādhana* to Guhyāpanna shows none of the kinds of concerns that we find in Vilāsavajra's other works, which are rather homogeneous in tone. Given the different geographical locations mentioned in the colophons of his two major works, which were translated at different times, could it be the case that a later *vajrācārya* living in Ratnadvīpa (note 18 *supra*) by the name of Agrabodhi either considered himself or was considered to be the incarnation of the Nālandā scholar Vilāsavajra? Certainly we as yet have no way of testing such a

Vimalamitra, a student of Buddhaguhya's, was invited to Tibet by Khri sroṅ lde'u btsan (642-797 or 804), but the precise date and circumstances of his arrival are obscure[23]. Also reputed to be the student of the *ācārya* Śrī Siṃha, Vimalamitra was considered the principal bearer of an esoteric system of meditation which was eventually referred to as *sñiṅ thig*. The importance of this yogin for early Tibetan Buddhism cannot be ignored, and we find gNubs chen saṅs rgyas ye śes (born 772) quoting from Vimalamitra as a vital source for *atiyoga*[24]. Moreover, Vimalamitra's commentary on the NS

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hypothesis, but we do know similar instances among other *vajrācāryas*. Vide G. Tucci, "Animadversiones Indicae", *JASB* n.s. 26 (1960), p. 130ff. Were this the case, it would not be unusual for such information to find its way into the colophon of a work by Vilāsavajra.

[23] Buddhaguhya, Vimalamitra's teacher, is universally considered the student of Buddhaśrījñāna; see *Blue Annals*, p. 372. Our earliest source, the *sBa bžed* (R.A. Stein, ed., *Une chronique ancienne de bSam yas: sBa-bžed* (Paris: Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises, 1961) pp. 64.7-65.8) mentions that Vimalamitra came to Tibet after both the banishment of Vairocana and the death of Kamalaśīla. The *Zaṅs gliṅ ma* of Ñaṅ ral ñi ma 'od zer (1124-1192) (in *The Life of Lady Ye-śes-mtsho-rgyal* (Palampur: Sungrab Nyamso Gyunphel Parkhang, 1972) p. 473.1ff.), however, contends that Vimalamitra came after Vairocana's banishment but before Kamalaśīla's arrival in Tibet. Bu ston (writing in 1322, E. Obermiller, *History of Buddhism by Bu-ston*, Suzuki Research Foundation Reprint Series 5 [Tokyo: Suzuki Research Foundation, 1964], p. 190) and the *rGyal rabs gsal ba'i me loṅ* (written about 1368, B.I. Kuznetsov, ed., *Rgyal Rabs Gsal Ba'i Me Long*, Scripta Tibetana I [Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1966], p. 180.14) both contend that Vimalamitra came before either of these two events. My own supposition is that the *sBa bžed* is correct and that the later traditions confused the second Vimalamitra, a Vinaya master living about the time of Ral pa chen (vide *Blue Annals*, p. 191), with the *vajrācārya* Vimalamitra who was said to have come from Vikramaśīla *vihāra* (*Zaṅs gliṅ ma*, p. 473.5). These later traditions then placed this composite Vimalamitra among the twelve Sarvāstivādin monks whom Śāntarakṣita brought from Vikramaśīla for the ordination ceremony in 779 A.D. These *vinayadharas* were doubtless among the opponents of Vairocana when he was exiled (*Bai ro'i 'dra 'bag chen mo*, Smanrtsis Shesrig Spendzod 23 [*Bai ro'i rgyud 'bum* vol. 8] (Leh: S.W. Tashigangpa, 1971), p. 543.8; *Minor Buddhist Texts* II, p. 43,110-11), and it is very doubtful that Vimalamitra, as a lineage holder and fellow student of Śrī Siṃha, would have assisted in the banishment of Vairocana. Should we therefore wish to accept the information of the *sBa bžed*, Vimalamitra would probably have come about 795 or a little later. This approximate date would follow the interchange of views between the Indian and Chinese parties (*circa* 792-4) but precede the death of Khri sroṅ lde'u btsan (797 or 804). Concerning this interchange see Yoshiro Imaeda, "Documents tibétains de Touen-houang concernant le concile du Tibet", *Journal Asiatique* 263 (1975): 125-146. Imaeda's dating (p. 126) of the *sBa bžed* to the 14th century is difficult to reconcile with its utilization by Sa skya Paṇḍita (1181-1252); cf. A.I. Vostrikov, *Tibetan Historical Literature*, trans. Harish Chandra Gupta, Soviet Indology Series No. 4 (Calcutta: R.K. Maitra, 1970), pp. 24-5. Cf. also Stein's Introduction to the *sBa bžed*, p. vi.

[24] Vide *Zaṅs gliṅ ma* p. 473.1, which mentions that Vimalamitra received ordination (*upasampadā*) from Śrī Siṃha. Compare, however, *Blue Annals* p. 191, which lists

(hereafter VM) is interesting for a number of reasons. It appears to have been the earliest NS commentary translated into Tibetan and was evidently written specifically for the Tibetan *saṅgha*, having been requested by Ñaṅ tiṅ 'dzin bzaṅ po and translated by gÑags jñāna kumāra[25]. VM eschews virtually all mention of the complex ritual and *maṇḍala* arrangements elaborated by the earlier commentators, preferring instead to unfold the meaning of the actual text of the NS. It is also a fine piece of translation-Tibetan *qua* Tibetan. Possibly as a result it is the only canonical commentary on the NS which enjoys the distinction of an extra-canonical edition in modern times[26].

The most enigmatic of our four early commentators is *Surativajra (dGa' rab rdo rje). His life and work became the focus of much debate and attention in Tibet. gNubs chen saṅs rgyas ye śes offers the earliest citations[27] of *Surativajra and that from a work now lost to us, while four other works of his are said to have been translated by Vairocana and Śrī Siṃha[28]. There is also a tradition appearing in the comparatively late hagiography (*rnam thar*) probably compiled by 'Brom ban bKra śis rnam rgyal, that Vairocana met both *Surativajra and Mañjuśrīmitra when that great translator went to India to work with Śrī Siṃha[29]. An apparently earlier source on Vairocana's activities, however, the *Zaṅs gliṅ ma* of Ñaṅ ral ñi ma 'od zer (1124-1192), makes no mention of the event, nor does it ever mention *Surativajra's name[30]. *Surativajra's commentary on the NS (hereafter SV) was the source of some dispute, and Bu ston, although he

Vimalamitra as a student of the shadowy *Jñānasūtra (Ye śes mdo). See also gNubs chen saṅs rgyas ye śes, *bSam gtan mig sgron*, edited by 'Khor gdoṅ gter sprul 'chi med rig 'dzin (Leh, 1974), p. 276.4, where there is a citation from the *Byi ma la'i kLoṅ 'grel*.

[25] PTT vol. 67, p. 251.3.4.

[26] Library of Congress Public Law 480 accessions number I (Sik) Tib 1973 901235, "a xylographic print from blocks preserved in Deorali Chorten in Gangtok, Sikkim". This edition follows exactly the Derge.

[27] The *Yon tan bcu*, in the *bSam gtan mig sgron*, p. 191.4, 272.1, etc.

[28] Peking nos. 5036-5039. These are some among the many rÑiṅ ma pa exegetical texts which, so far as I know, are not included in any other *bsTan 'gyur* than the Peking.

[29] *Bai ro'i 'dra 'bag chen mo*, p. 461.4. I cannot agree with Tucci (*Minor Buddhist Texts* II, p. 114), who feels that most of these rÑiṅ ma pa sources were edited by the "orthodoxy". The orthodoxy would more often tend to write its own history, such as that of Sum pa mkhan po ye śes dpal 'byor. The real differences in doctrine that Tucci discerns between various rÑiṅ ma authors indicate the rich variety and changing circumstances of the different systems of religious sensibility grouped under the loose heading of rÑiṅ ma pa.

[30] Vairocana's story is discussed in chapter 14 (*Zaṅs gliṅ ma* pp. 448.6-463.4. Mañjuśrīmitra is listed along with a number of other *ācāryas*, p. 381.4ff.

included it in the Źa lu bstan 'gyur, suggested that there were grounds for doubt as to its authenticity[31]. In my opinion it was attacks such as these that caused the tradition represented by kLoṅ chen rab 'byams pa (1308-1363) to associate Mañjuśrīmitra with *Surativajra. Mañjuśrīmitra represented solid orthodoxy to the gSar ma pa opponents of the rÑiṅ ma pa, and to make him a student of *Surativajra was a stroke of genius in the heated world of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Tibetan religious politics. They were both approximate contemporaries, and both contributed heavily to the formation of the early *rdzogs chen*, although in very different ways. Thus kLoṅ chen pa, both in his *History of the Dharma* (*chos 'byuṅ gter mdzod*) and in his *Great Chronicle* (*lo rgyus chen mo*), gives an elaborate mythological account of *Surativajra's life and association with Mañjuśrīmitra[32]. Following kLoṅ chen pa, all the succeeding rÑiṅ ma and dKar brgyud pa chroniclers associated these two, with the curious exception of 'Gos lo tsā ba, who does not seem to have accepted the story and who never mentions *Surativajra's name in his *Blue Annals*, perhaps wishing to avoid the controversy.

Bu ston's reason for not wanting to accept SV as an authentic Indian text is essentially the same as his rejection of the early translation period (*sṅa 'gyur*) tantras: the basic foreignness to the gSar ma pa tradition of much of the religious philosophy and doctrine employed. For *Surativajra, as for many of the rÑiṅ ma pa, the *dharmakāya* is the absolute ground of reality (*gźi*), and its realization has the nature of cognitive intentionality (*dgoṅs pa*) being felt as the indivisible interrelation between the formal body (*kāya*) and gnosis (*jñāna*). Such realization is ultimate awareness in its aspect of universal penetration (*rig pa zaṅ thal*)[33]. *Surativajra introduces as well a framework of

[31] Lokesh Chandra, ed., *The Collected Works of Bu-ston* (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1968), vol. 26 p. 487.2.

[32] *Chos 'byuṅ rin po che'i gter mdzod thub bstan gsal bar byed pa'i ñi 'od* (Bhutan: Dingo Chentse, n.d.) vol. E p. 401.5ff., and the *Snying Thig Ya Bzhi* (New Delhi: Trulku Tsewang, Jamyang, and L. Tashi, 1970), vol. 9 p. 89.6ff. kLoṅ chen pa's dates are fantastic. He places the birth of *Surativajra at 360 years after the Parinirvāṇa of the Buddha. kLoṅ chen pa's honesty about his purpose is nonetheless edifying. He maintains, "Whoever mentally weighs the significance of this chronicle will in the future become someone full of doubt". *gaṅ źig lo rgyus don ñid tshad ma blor bźag nas / ma 'oṅs dus kyi gaṅ zag the tshom can /* (p. 84.5). I wish to thank Jim Valby of the University of Saskatchewan for drawing my attention to this passage.

[33] *gźi dag pa chos kyi sku la 'bras bu dag pa śes rab rig pa'i sku lhas brgyan pa* (252.2.4), *śes rab chen po źes pa gźi'i dgoṅs pa'o /* (253.5.5), *bsgom bya sku daṅ ye śes* (255.3.1), and see the technical discussion of *rig pa zaṅ thal* 255.3.2-3.

sixteen stages (*bhūmi*) of the *bodhisattva-buddha* and a system of initiation (*abhiṣeka*) very different from that of the orthodox traditions[34]. There is, of course, the remote possibility that a Tibetan knowing Sanskrit and willing to translate (with errors) the NS for himself, utilizing a style of composition that no Tibetan author writing an indigenous work would normally use, wrote SV. Such a proposition, however, would generate a number of problems. Apart from the unusual initiation system already mentioned, for which I can find no acceptance by any Tibetan tradition, there is a complete absence of the term *rdzogs chen* in SV, an omission no rÑiṅ ma pa attempting either to delineate or vindicate his system would commit. Therefore despite the lack of a translator's colophon, which is often missing in early translation (*sṅa 'gyur*) texts, it is unlikely that SV originated anywhere but India.

Due in great part to the attention of these four illustrious commentators, the NS grew in popularity in India after the eighth century. It was probably in the early tenth century that Mañjuśrīkīrti wrote his enormous commentary delineating a new ritual structure for the NS, called the *maṇḍala* of Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara (Tō. 2534). This and the previously mentioned system of Guhyāpanna retained some degree of popularity into the twentieth century. Mañjuśrīkīrti's commentary proved to be the last of the great *yogatantra* systems of exegesis, first initiated by Mañjuśrīmitra. Later, towards the end of the tenth century, the reputed founder of the Kālacakra cycle in India, Kālacakrapāda, wrote a commentary on the discussion of benefits (*anuśaṃsā*, Tō. 1399), no doubt inspired by the references to the Ādibuddha in the NS, for these statements bear a resemblance to the doctrines of the *Kālacakratantra*. Kālacakrapāda's illustrious student Nāropā (Naḍapāda), in systematizing the *māyājālābhisaṃbodhikrama* into the theoretical framework of the Kālacakra cycle, preserved for the NS a place among Kālacakra practitioners[35]. *Sūryaśrījñāna's exegesis on the NS, the *Amṛtakaṇikā* (Tō. 1395), eventually became the standard for students of the *Kālacakratantra*. Not to be outdone, Advayavajra (Maitrīpā), Nāropā's contemporary and associate, attempted to redefine the practice surrounding the NS into a system of meditation in keeping with the *yoginītantras*. To this end he attempted on a smaller scale (Tō. 2096-2105) what Mañjuśrīmitra had done before,

[34] See notes 98 and 101 *infra*.

[35] Mario Carelli, ed., *Sekodeśaṭīkā of Naḍapāda*, GOS 90 (Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1941) p. 6.17f.

but Advayavajra's efforts did not prove either so fruitful or so popular. After Advayavajra, the spirit of originality which had marked the thought of those concerned with the NS seemed to wane. Commentaries continued to be written, but they followed upon ground already broken by these earlier scholars and yogins.

Although our catalogues of the Tibetan Canon list Rin chen bzaṅ po (958-1051) as the initial translator of the NS into Tibetan, there can be no doubt that the introduction of the NS into Tibet occurred at the time of Khri sroṅ lde'u btsan (742-797) or shortly thereafter. Its entry in the lDan dkar catalogue, the presence of Tun-huang mss. and the existence of at least one commentary translated at this time, a work moreover specifically requested by the early Tibetan *saṅgha*, all make it nearly certain that an early translation existed[36]. This text may perhaps be the one currently retained in the *rNiṅ ma rgyud 'bum* which does not give a translator's colophon and differs in details from the other recensions[37]. If this is indeed the early (*sṅa dar*) translation, then Rin chen bzaṅ po drew heavily on it for his own. Later bLo gros brtan pa (born 1276) revised Rin chen bzaṅ po's work to such an extent as to constitute virtually a new translation. This latest revision was based on the recently popularized Kālacakra system of exegesis coupled with a concern for a more mechanical translation methodology. bLo gros brtan pa's revision was the translation of the NS finally included by Bu ston in the *Źa lu bka' 'gyur*, yet curiously enough, I have found no record of anyone actually using it. The text used in the various indigenous commentaries, the extra-canonical editions of the work, and every recitation of the NS that I have heard from a lama have all stemmed from the translation of Rin chen bzaṅ po[38].

[36] See Marcelle Lalou, « Les textes bouddhiques au temps du roi Khri-sroṅ-lde-bcan », *Journal Asiatique* 241 (1953), p. 329 no. 438; idem, *Inventaire des manuscrits tibétains de Touen-houang* (Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1939), p. 33, Pelliot 99:2; Louis de La Vallée Poussin, *Catalogue of the Tibetan Manuscripts from Tun-Huang in the India Office Library* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), pp. 43 and 126, Stein 112:2, 381, and 382.

[37] *rÑiṅ ma rgyud 'bum*, vol. 15 pp. 97-118. Compare, for example, verses 138-39.

[38] *The Collected Works of Bu-ston*, vol. 26 p. 376.1. Compare against bLo gros brtan pa's translation the text contained in the quadrilingual edition reproduced in Raghu Vira, ed., *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṅgīti*, Śatapitaka vol. 18 (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, n.d.); the two editions from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries whose blocks are kept in the Royal Palace at Leh, Library of Congress Public Law 480 accessions no. I Tib 412 and 425; the edition from blocks in gYuṅ druṅ Monastery, Yuru, I Tib 71-906365. Note too that in his *Born in Tibet* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World, 1968), p. 32, Chögyam Trungpa quotes a line from Rin chen bzaṅ po's translation but misunderstands the phrase by taking *'dzugs* as an imperative,

The reception given to the NS in Tibet was certainly mixed. As a ritual manual for chanting the names of Mañjuśrī, it became very popular, and it is no exaggeration to say that almost every fully ordained monk in a Tibetan monastery of any size memorized the translated NS. This is not to say that they studied it. Of the three lamas I questioned on this matter, two had memorized the NS, while the third (rGyal sprul mdo maṅ rin po che) said that he was supposed to have, but for an unspecified reason he did not. All the monks in his monastery (mDo maṅ), however, memorized it. None of the lamas, though, claimed to have a thorough grasp of the NS, and only one (Ṅor thar rtse mkhan po) had read a commentary (Tō. 2539) and that on his own, since the NS was never taught at Ṅor. Likewise remarkably few indigenous commentaries on the NS were produced. I have been able to locate six to date: a commentary by Roṅ zom chos bzaṅ[39], two by Bo doṅ Paṇ chen phyogs las rnam rgyal (1306-1386?)[40], and the three dGe lugs pa commentaries of Dalai Lama II dGe 'dun rgya mtsho (1476-1542, Tō. 5549), Yoṅs 'dzin ye śes rgyal mtshan (1713-1793, Tō. 6000), and mThu stobs ñi ma of sGo maṅ[41].

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whereas it is a present verb expressing the sense of *ucchraya*, a noun of primary (*kṛt*) derivation (v. 104d). bLo gros brtan pa's translation of the compound *mahocchraya* by *chen po bsgreṅ* is an example of the unsatisfactory mechanical method of his translation.

[39] *mTshan yaṅ dag par brjod pa'i 'grel pa rnam gsum bśad pa* in *Selected Writings of Roṅ-zom Chos-kyi-bzaṅ-po* (Leh: 'Khor-gdoṅ Gter-sprul 'Chi-med-rig-'dzin, 1974) pp. 247-332. Roṅ zom chos bzaṅ is difficult to date, but if we may believe the story (*Blue Annals*, p. 161) that Atīśa met Roṅ zom when that great *paṇḍita* came to gTsaṅ, then Roṅ zom may be assigned to the second half of the 11th century.

[40] *'Phags pa 'jam dpal gyi rgyud gśad* in *Encyclopedia Tibetica*, vol. 66 pp. 319-486, follows the *anuttarayogatantra* system of exegesis; *mTshan brjod kyi 'grel pa rnal 'byor rguyd lugs* in *Encyclopedia Tibetica*, vol. 67 pp. 62-507, following the method of Mañjuśrīkīrti (vide p. 507.4).

[41] The commentary of dGe 'dun rgya mtsho (Tō. 5549) I know of only from the references of mThu stobs ñi ma. Yoṅs 'dzin ye śes rgyal mtshan's commentary, entitled *'Phags pa 'jam dpal gyi mtshan yaṅ dag par brjod pa'i 'grel pa rje btsun 'jam pa'i dbyaṅs gyi byin rlabs kyi char rgyun myur du 'bebs byed bstod sprin gyi sgra dbyaṅs*, is in vol. *ña* fols. 1b.1-170a.5 (Tō. 6000, Univ. of Calif. East Asiatic Library Tib. 62/2) of his *gsuṅ 'bum*. It was written in the Potala in the room known as bDe ba can (Sukhāvatī) in 1788 at the behest of the Bhikṣu 'Jam dpal tshe riṅ. Both of these dGe lugs pa commentaries follow the Kālacakra system and were relied on by mThu stobs ñi ma in writing his *'Phags pa 'jam dpal gyi mtshan yaṅ dag par brjod pa'i don rnam par bśad pa rgyud don gsal byed sgron me gsal ba* (East Asiatic Lib. Tib. 132/1) which was finished on the 15th day of *Sa ga zla ba*—the date of the Parinirvāṇa of the Buddha according to the Tibetan tradition—in the year 1824 at the monastery of bDe chen rab rgyas gliṅ. The print is evidently from China (Peking?) and the Chinese characters list the work as the first half of the second volume of mThu stobs ñi ma's collected works. The spelling throughout this print is abominable and gives

From the time of its composition, the NS was the object of statements as to its place in the classification of the tantras. On its entrance into Tibet, however, the discussions began in earnest, due to the multiple streams of exegesis Tibet was receiving from India. Bu ston, following the internal statements of the NS itself (v. 13), classified the text as being a *mahāyoga-upāyatantra*[42]. He moreover divided the commentaries into those following the Kālacakra system (Tō. 1395-1400), those following the orientation of the other *tantras* of the *anuttarayoga* class (Tō. 2090-2110), and those following the *yogatantra* system (Tō. 2532-2621)[43]. These classifications were rather arbitrary as we can see by comparing them to the Derge and Peking canons, where the NS was considered a member of the Kālacakra cycle and placed at the head of all the other tantras (e.g. Tō. 360). Moreover, in the Derge canon the tantric Candragomin's commentary was promoted to the *anuttarayogatantra* section (Tō. 2090) from the *yogatantra* section (Peking 3363, which follows Bu ston). The criterion for classification of commentaries into the Kālacakra division was the utilization of doctrinal systems and language peculiar to that *tantra.* Classification of commentaries into the *anuttarayogatantra* section, though, was apparently dependent on either the presence of a reference to *guhyābhiṣeka* (as in SV 258.4.4) or an elaboration of *anuttarayogatantra* terms, such as the six *kulas* (as in VM 239.1.4) or *utpattikrama* and *niṣpannakrama* (as in VM 248.4.1)[44]. MM and VV were both classed as *yogatantra* commentaries, MM since it had neither element, and VV since it mentions specifically only the divisions of *kriyā*, *caryā*, and *yogatantra* (VV 184.5.2) despite its definition of the *mahāmudrākula* (v. 24) as the family of Bodhicittavajra, this family being known as the sixth *kula* in VM (239.1.4). All things considered, there is a much closer doctrinal relationship between MM, VV, VM, and SV, despite the difference in classification, than between, for example, VM and the works of Advayavajra, which are of the same class.

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the appearance of never having been proofread. I wish to thank Ṅor thar rtse mkhan rin po che for unearthing mThu stobs ñi ma's commentary for me.

[42] *The Collected Works of Bu-ston*, vol. 26 p. 376.1.

[43] *The Collected Works of Bu-ston*, vol. 26, *Kālacakra* p. 423.1, *anuttarayoga* p. 485.5, *yogatantra* p. 508.5.

[44] Vide Bo Doṅ's statement in the *'Phags pa 'jam dpal gyi rgyud bśad* (*Encyclopedia Tibetica*, vol. 66 p. 320.5) where he refutes the classification of the NS as *yogatantra* or as *brkol pa'i rgyud.*

With the rise of Buddhist Studies in nineteenth-century Europe came the study of the NS, and the *editio princeps* was brought out by I.P. Minaev (1840-90) in 1887 along with his first edition of the *Mahāvyutpatti*[45]. This edition is primary in every sense of the word since it remains the only edition to date to publish the complete *anuśaṃsā*. Minaev had also intended to translate the NS with the help of Vilāsavajra's commentary, but due to his untimely death in 1890 no translation appeared[46]. Nonetheless Minaev's edition spurred on interest, and Louis de La Vallée Poussin studied the text with the assistance of the commentaries of Vilāsavajra and *Sūryaśrījñāna, mss. of which are found in Cambridge and in the possession of the Royal Asiatic Society[47]. Poussin, although using the NS for his article on "Tantrism" in Hasting's *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, reacted badly to the language of the latter commentary[48]. Raghu Vira was the next to attempt editing the text and around 1960 brought out his edition of the verses only, having neither a ms. including the *anuśaṃsā* nor access to Minaev's earlier work[49]. Neither Minaev nor Raghu Vira was able to utilize the Tibetan translations for editorial purposes. Soon after Raghu Vira, in 1963, Durga Das Mukherji performed much the same feat and brought out an edition without utilizing either Minaev's or Raghu Vira's texts[50]. Mukherji in addition sometimes compounded error by using the Tibetan badly in several places, by incorporating mistakes in Rin chen bzaṅ po's translation into his text, and by not utilizing any commentaries to try to establish the error

[45] I.P. Minaev, *Buddizm. Izsledovaniya i Materialui* (St. Petersburg, 1887) Vol. II pp. 137-159.

[46] Minaev, *Buddizm*, Introduction p. XII. The most comprehensive bibliography of Minaev's work is that by his niece Alexandra Schneider, "Professor J.P. Minayeff, 1840-90", *Indian Historical Quarterly* 10 (1934): 811-26. I wish to thank Prof. James Bosson, who translated for me the Russian of the description of mss. and of the critical apparatus.

[47] Bendall, *Catalogue*, pp. 29 (Add. 1108) and 203 (Add. 1708). E.B. Cowell and J. Eggeling, "Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscript in the Possession of the Royal Asiatic Society" *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* ser. 2 vol. 8 (1876), pp. 25-28 (nos. 34, 35).

[48] Louis de La Vallée Poussin, "Tantrism", *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, edited by James Hastings (1921), XII p. 193-197.

[49] Raghu Vira, *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti*. The work has the added difficulty of not incorporating in the printed text the readings finally accepted by the editor and given in the Variae Lectiones (pp. 13-16). The text of the NS, again without the finally accepted readings, was reprinted in *Kālacakra-Tantra and other Texts*, Part 1, Śatapitaka Vol. 69, (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1966) pp. 31-34.

[50] Durga Das Mukherji, *Āryamañjuśrīnāmasaṅgīti: Sanskrit and Tibetan Texts* (Calcutta: Calcutta University Press, 1973).

in the Tibetan. Mukherji's ms. containing the *anuśaṃsā* was incomplete, and he attempted to make up the difference by retranslating from the Tibetan translation of bLo gros brtan pa. Still, Mukherji's edition is the more useful of the two Indian editions as he faithfully recorded variants and, unlike Raghu Vira, was not so anxious to emend the text without good cause. The most recent contribution is by Keinosuke Mitsuhara in his article, "Concerning the Transmission in the Nāmasaṃgīti"[51]. Mitsuhara briefly examined certain questions surrounding verses 26, 27 and selected sections of the *anuśaṃsā*. His article is limited, though, by its unfortunate neglect of the vast commentarial traditions; because of this neglect and due to an imperfect text, some of the questions he discusses are false questions. My own interest in the NS stems from a desire to uncover more of the religious and intellectual history of the transmission of Indo-Tibetan Buddhist traditions. The multivalent role played by the NS convinced me that its position was intimately connected with some of the greatest figures in eighth century Indian Vajrayāna. I also suspected that this fact has been obscured by the general decline in the study of this text in Tibet. There certainly are other potentially profitable avenues of exploration, such as the *Vajravidāraṇādhāraṇī* (Tō. 750), the *Guhyagarbhatantra* (Tō. 832) or other major Vajrayāna works central to the early spread of the Dharma in Tibet. The NS, however, with its strong connections to so many figures dominant in this religious transmission, appeared most promising as a source of information. It has definitely fulfilled my expectations.

In the following pages I have translated the full text of the NS and have included annotations drawn from the four commentaries mentioned above. The translation has had to strike a balance between rigorous attention to the technical terms one would expect of a translation of a Buddhist philosophical text and evocation in felicitous English of the religious sensibilities of the Sanskrit text as literature. I am only too aware of the resultant deficiencies. Following the translated NS there is an appendix consisting of a translation of Mañjuśrīmitra's *Upadeśa* which in turn is followed by the edited Sanskrit text of the NS.

[51] Keinosuke Mitsuhara, "Nāmusangīti ni okeru dentatsu ni tsuite", *Nihon Bukkyōgakkai nempō* 36 (1970): 121-135.

Homage to Mañjuśrī who is a True Prince.

Sixteen verses on requesting instruction.

1. Now the glorious Vajradhara[52], superb in taming those difficult to tame, being victorious over the triple world[53], a hero, an esoteric ruler, a lord with his weapon[54].

[52] Vajrapāṇi's various vicissitudes provide an excellent example of a single deity's potential for multilinear evolution. In a series of texts discussed by Lalou in her "Documents de Touen-houang", *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques* 8 (1946-7): 217-26, the function of the mild deity is fulfilled by Vajrapāṇi and his wrathful reflex belongs to the Krodharāja Mahābala. In the first section (*adhyeṣaṇā*), however, of the NS, the genesis of which is approximately contemporary with Lalou's texts, the appellation of Mahābala is not given to the wrathful figures in the retinue of Vajradhara-Vajrapāṇi, but to Vajradhara himself (v. 19d) and twice to Mañjuśrī (vv. 37c and 48d). Vajradhara-Vajrapāṇi in the *adhyeṣaṇā* is supplied with the attributes of the mild form, particularly in v. 2ab. The other Vajrapāṇis, though, are said to have forms of wrath (*krodha*) and hostility (*vigraha*, v. 5). The distinction of iconographic forms seems to be maintained by the use of the name Vajradhara for the mild image of Vajrapāṇi. We find too in the *Māyājālatantra* the use of Vajradhara as a name of Vajrapāṇi in his office of interlocutor (PTT vol. 4 p. 138.4.1). Again, in the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* (PTT vol. 4 p. 233.4.4, 239.4.4) Vajrapāṇi adopts the form of Vajradhara. Very shortly, of course, after the compilation of these tantras the two figures were to go their own ways, Vajradhara becoming the Ādibuddha in the commentarial traditions of the *Guhyasamāja* and in the *yoginītantras*. VV remarks that our interlocutor is called Vajrapāṇi with reference to initiation, but called Vajradhara with reference to gnosis. VV *kye phyag na rdo rje źes pa ni dbaṅ bskur ba'i sgo nas so / rdo rje 'chaṅ ni ye śes kyi sgo nas so /* (221.4.3). VM, though, considers these two names as one unit given at the time of initiation by the Buddha. VM *lag na rdo rje rdo rje 'chaṅ / źes bya ba la sogs pa smos te / de ni bcom ldan 'das kyis dbaṅ bskur ba'i miṅ ṅo /* (250.3.2). These are very interesting statements, but their precise significance is lost to me. If they refer to a literary episode, I have not yet run across it. Very different, indeed, from the above-mentioned circumstances is the usage in v. 40, where Mañjuśrī is called Mahāvajradhara and his form is described as wrathful (*raudra*). The compound is taken oddly by VV, which treats it as if it were to be understood as *mahāvajrasya dharaḥ* and elaborates, "Mahāvajra is the gnosis of Samantabhadra. Since [Mañjuśrī] bears this [gnosis] he is called Mahāvajradhara". *rdo rje chen po ni kun tu bzaṅ po'i ye śes te / 'dzin pas na rdo rje ni chen po 'chaṅ ṅo /* (194.2.3). Compare Marcelle Lalou, "Four Notes on Vajrapāṇi", *Adyar Lib. Bull.* 20 (1956): 287-93; idem, "A Fifth Note on Vajrapāṇi", *Adyar Lib. Bull.* 25 (1961): 242-49; F.D. Lessing, *Yung-Ho-Kung*, Sino-Swedish Expedition Publication 18 (Stockholm, 1942), pp. 80-2 and 112; R. Tajima, *Étude sur le Mahāvairocana-Sūtra* (Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1936), pp. 50-54, where Vajrapāṇi is at the head of a retinue of Vajradharas. Cf. also the Mahāyāna context in E. Lamotte, "Vajrapāṇi en Inde", *Mélanges de Sinologie offerts à Monsieur Paul Demiéville*, Bibliothèque de l'Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises vol. XX, Paris: Presses Universitaires, 1966, pp. 113-159.

[53] The triple world is considered by VV (185.5.1), MM (174.3.3), and VM to consist of the underworld (*sa 'og gi 'jig rten*), the surface of the earth (*sa rteṅ gi 'jig rten*), and the world far above the earth (*sa bla'i 'jig rten*). VM has by far the most interesting discussion. "Having tamed the lord of the underworld, Mahādeva, the lord of the surface of the earth, Viṣṇu, and the lord of the world far above the earth, Brahmā, who are the deities of the [brahmanical] outsiders' body, speech, and mind, [Vajradhara] is said to be victorious over the triple world". *sa 'og gi bdag po ma hā de ba daṅ / sa steṅs kyi bdag po khyab 'jug / sa bla'i bdag po tshaṅs pa daṅ gsum ni*

2. His eyes as opened white lotuses and face like a pale red lotus in bloom, in his hand waving now and again the best of *vajras*,
3. With endless Vajrapāṇis showing billows of angry brows, heroes in taming those difficult to tame, their forms heroic (*vīra*) and fearsome (*bībhatsa*),
4. Their hands waving the flashing-tipped *vajras*, excellent agents for the sake of the world by their great compassion and insight (*prajñā*) and means,
5. By disposition (*āśaya*) happy and joyful, delighted, but with forms of wrath and hostility[55], protectors in doing the duty of Buddhas, altogether they stood bent down in homage.
6. Bowing to the protector, the completely awakened, the blessed one, the Tathāgata-[Vajradhara] stood in front, his hands folded in homage, and spoke these words:
7. "For my sake, my benefit, O Overlord, through compassion towards me, may I be an obtainer of the realization process of Illusion's Net (*māyā-jālābhisaṃbodhi*).
8. "For the sake of all beings sunk in unknowing (*ajñāna*), their minds confused in defilement (*kleśa*), that they may obtain the highest fruit,
9. "May the completely awakened, the blessed one, the teacher, the guide of the world, knowing the reality of the great vow (*mahāsamaya*), highest in knowing the faculties and dispositions, may he reveal
10. "[The *Litany of Names*] of Mañjuśrī, the gnostic entity (*jñānasattva*)[56], who is self-produced, embodied gnosis, the blessed one's gnostic body (*jñānakāya*), vocal lord, the great coronal dome (*mahoṣṇīṣa*).
11. "This excellent *Litany of Names* with depth of meaning and lofty meaning, with great meaning, unequalled and blessed, wholesome (*kalyāṇī*) in beginning, middle and end.

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phyi rol pa'i sku gsuṅ thugs kyi lha gsum yin la de gsum gtul bas 'jig rten gsum las rgyal ba'o / (236.2.1). cf. A. Wayman *Yoga*, pp. 67-8 for an alternate interpretation.

[54] *kuliśeśvara*. The weapon of Vajradhara is of course the *vajra*, and this epithet is accordingly translated into Tibetan *rdo rje dbaṅ phyug*.

[55] MM elaborates, "Having seen vicious beings, they perform their activity with a body of wrathful form. They are, however, not such by their proper nature, since that proper nature is possessed of great compassion". *sems can gdug pa rnams gzigs nas khro bo'i gzugs kyis lus daṅ ldan par mdzad kyi raṅ bźin khro bas ni ma yin gyi* / *thugs rje chen po daṅ ldan pa'i ṅo bo ñid yin pa'i phyir ro* / (173.3.5).

[56] We must distinguish here between the usage of *jñānasattva* as a title for Mañjuśrī and the function of the *jñānasattva* in the meditative ritual context. The latter involves the invitation of the *jñānasattva* from the realm of the sky (*ākāśadhātu*) after the *mantrin* has visualized himself (*bdag bskyed*) or a *maṇḍala* (*bdun bskyed*) as the *samayasattva*. Clearly in this context any deity to whom the *sādhana* is addressed is the *jñānasattva*. V.F. Lessing and A. Wayman, *Mkhas Grub Rje's Fundamentals of Buddhist Tantras*, Indo-Iranian Monographs vol. 8 (The Hague: Mouton, 1968), pp. 162-64. Mañjuśrī, however, comes by this title through being the *jñānasattva* par excellence. MM explains, "By the *jñānasattva* is meant the entity whose proper nature is that of gnosis". *ye śes sems dpa' źes bya ba 'di ni ye śes kyi raṅ bźin can gyi sems dpa' yin pas na ye śes sems dpa' ste* / (174.1.1). Moreover, "Differentiating between the two, *jñānakāya* and *jñānasattva*, is done with reference to the distinction of the aspects of body or mind". *ye śes sku daṅ ye śes sems dpa' gñis kyi bye brag ni lus daṅ sems kyi rnam pa'i khyad par ro* / (174.1.2). For the Mahāyāna background of Mañjuśrī, see E. Lamotte, "Mañjuśrī", *T'oung Pao* 48 (1960), pp. 1-96.

12. "That which was spoken by previous Buddhas will be spoken by the future ones, and that which the completely awakened in the present recite again and again[57],
13. "[That *Litany of Names*] extolled in the *Māyājālamahātantra* by unlimited delighted Mahāvajradharas, bearers of *mantras*,
14. "Until deliverance[58] I will preserve[59] it with steadfast intention, since I am, O Protector, the esoteric bearer for all the completely awakened[60].

[57] This verse discussing the permanence of the NS was to have some effect on the systematizers of Vajrayāna. V. bSod nams rtse mo, *rGyud sde spyi'i rnam par gźag pa* in *The Complete Works of the Great Masters of the Sa Skya Sect of Tibetan Buddhism*, edited by bSod nams rgya mtsho (Tokyo: Toyo Bunko, 1968) vol. 2 p. 27.3.2, where he takes this statement as applying to all of the *tantrapiṭaka*.

[58] *Niryāṇa* is one of those terms which has acquired multiple meanings with the Mahāyāna context. As early as the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* we find it divided into eight different headings. "This path of *niryāṇa* is to be understood as having a nature of eight divisions. There is *niryāṇa* with reference to instruction, equality, the benefit of beings, effortlessness, transcendence of extremes, having the characteristic of obtaining, omniscience, and having the range of the path".

uddeśe samatāyāṃ ca sattvārthe yatnavarjane /
atyantāya ca niryāṇaṃ niryāṇaṃ prāptilakṣaṇam //
sarvākārajñatāyāṃ ca niryāṇaṃ mārgagocaram /
niryāṇapratipaj jñeyā sêyam aṣṭavidhātmikā //
Abhisamayālaṅkārakārikā 1: 72-73.

The primary two fields of meaning given to the term in the NS are those of the vehicle (*yāna*) and final release (*vimokṣa*). Indeed, VV relates "By *niryāṇa* we mean here *nirvāṇa*". *ṅes par 'byuṅ źes pa ni mya ṅan las 'das pa'o /* (187.3.7). Compare vv. 51, 131, 135, and 156. For a more complete analysis of the various gradations of *niryāṇa* in the Prajñāpāramitā context, see Corrado Pensa, *L'Abhisamayālaṃkāravṛtti di Ārya-Vimuktisena*, SOR 37 (Rome: ISMEO, 1967), pp. 111-126. Vimuktisena's analysis represents the traditions current in India at the time of the composition of the NS.

[59] *dhārayiṣyāmy ā niryāṇāt dṛḍhāśayaḥ*. Recently G. Schopen in his review of E. Conze's *The Large Sutra on Perfect Wisdom*, *Indo-Iranian Journal* 19 (1977), p. 142, has raised the question of this phrase in Mahāyāna texts, repeating some of the arguments first proposed by M. Lalou in her article "Hold or Retain?", *East and West* 7 (1955): 328-29. Schopen rejects the mentalistic interpretation of the verb in the passage in the *Prajñāpāramitāsūtra* and, following Lalou, mentions that the term may either signify preservation of the book form or the actual physical conveyance on the person of the *yogin* in the form of an amulet. Certainly both of these interpretations have their place and seem to represent the true import of the phrase in the texts which these two scholars discuss. The NS, however, offers us no latitude to accept anything but a mentalistic interpretation due to the inclusion of *dṛḍhāśaya*. So too the commentators. VM declares, "There is acceptance [of the duty] with the words, 'For the duration that I do not obtain certain enlightenment, I will preserve it in thought devoid of doubt or forgetfulness'. *ṅes par byaṅ chub ma thob kyi bar du bdag gi bsam la the tshom med ciṅ brjed pa med par gzuṅ ṅo źes khas blaṅs pa'o /* (237.2.8). Likewise MM 174.2.4 and SV 252.3.3.

[60] In most Vajrayāna traditions Vajrapāṇi fulfills the function of collector (*sdud pa po*) of the *tantras* (*vidyādharapiṭaka*) for all the Buddhas of the three times and is often found as the interlocutor. See bSod nams rtse mo's discussion in his *rGyud sde spyi'i rnam gźag*, p. 28.1.6ff. Although a later writer, bSod nams rtse mo (1142-1182) summarizes the traditions to date and finally states his own position, which is well in accord with our commentaries. Vide VM 236.2.6, MM 174.1.8 and so forth.

15. "For the destruction of their every defilement and elimination of all their unknowing, I will reveal this [*Litany*] to beings, each according to his own disposition".
16. Having beseeched the Tathāgata thus for instruction, Vajrapāṇi, the esoteric leader, his body bent, his hands folded in homage, stood in the fore [of the assembly].

Six verses in reply.

17. Then Śākyamuni, the blessed one, the completely awakened, the best of men, having thrust from his mouth his beautiful, long, wide tongue,
18. He displayed a smile cleansing the three evil states [of existence] throughout the worlds, illuminating the triple world and chastening the enemies, the four Māras[61];
19. Flooding the triple world with this divine sweet praise, he replied to Vajrapāṇi, the esoteric leader of great power (*mahābala*).
20. "Well done, O glorious Vajradhara; it is proper of you, Vajrapāṇi, that, prompted by great compassion for the world's benefit,
21. "You are eager to hear from me the *Litany of Names* of the gnostic body of Mañjuśrī, having great meaning, purifying and clarifying transgression.
22. "That is well done, and I will teach it to you, O esoteric ruler. Listen with your mind one-pointed, O blessed one; that is well done".

Two verses of reflecting on the six families.

23. Then Śākyamuni, the blessed one, reflected on the three families, the entire great *mantra* family, the *mantra-vidyādhara* family.
24. The worldly and superworldly family, the grand world illuminating family, the foremost family, the *Mahāmudrā*, and the great family, the exalted coronal dome[62].

[61] The four Māras are the Māra of the five *skandhas* (*skandhamāra*), the Māra of defilements (*kleśamāra*), the Māra of death (*mṛtyumāra*), and the Māra who is known as Devaputra (*devaputramāra*). For an excellent discussion of the Mahāyāna background and conceptual framework of the four Māras, see Alex Wayman, "Studies in Yama and Māra", *Indo-Iranian Journal* 3 (1959): 112-131. Concerning the usage of the four Māras contemporary with our commentators and representing an internalized arrangement, vide A. Wayman, *Yoga*, p. 224. Finally, there is an outstanding analysis representing the fully developed *yoginītantra* tradition in Nepal by the Nepali A su [active first quarter of the 12th century] in Herbert Guenther, *The Royal Song of Saraha* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1969), pp. 80-84.

[62] vv. 23 and 24 of the NS are certainly the most confused verses of the text with respect to content. None of the commentators agree precisely in their interpretations. MM, however, elaborates, "The great *mantra* family is the family of the *tantras* such as *Mahāmāya* and so forth since it has become the point of origin for all the ritual activity (*kriyā*), formal practice (*caryā*), and ritual arrangements (*kalpa*). By entire (*sakala*) is meant without exception. By the *mantra-vidyādhara* family is meant the family wherein [bearers of these two methods, v. note 67] reside together. The three families mean the Tathāgata, the Vajra, and the Padma families. The worldly family is the family of sentient beings such as ordinary spiritual friends and so forth while the superworldly family is the family of Hearkeners (śrāvakas), Private Buddhas, and

Three verses on the steps in the realization process of Illusion's Net.

25. [Śākyamuni] pronounced this mystic verse, having six *mantrarājas*[63] and possessing unarisen characteristics, being non-dual in arising and joined with the vocal lord[64]:
26. "*a ā i ī u ū e ai o au aṃ aḥ* stand in the heart. I am Buddha, the embodied knowledge of the Buddhas occurring in the three times.
27. 'Oṃ homage to you, Embodied Knowledge of Insight, Cutter of Suffering, Sharp as a Vajra. Homage to you, Lord of Speech, Gnostic Body, Arapacana[63]!

Fourteen verses on the Vajradhātu Mahāmaṇḍala.

28. "And in this way the blessed one, the Buddha [Mañjuśrī], the completely awakened, born from the syllable *a*, is the syllable *a*, the foremost of all phonemes, of great meaning, the supreme syllable.

Bodhisattvas... The Mahāmudrā family is the family of the goddess (devīkula)... The great family of the Coronal Dome is the family of the unisyllabic coronal dome and so forth. To each of these families there are the various divisions of having good fortune or not, and of becoming a fit vessel or not". *gsaṅ sṅags rigs chen ni sgyu 'phrul chen po la sogs pa'i rgyud kyi rigs te / bya ba daṅ / spyod pa daṅ / rtog pa thams cad bskyed pa'i gnas su gyur pa'i phyir ro / thams cad ni ma lus pa'o / gsaṅ sṅags rig sṅags 'chaṅ ba'i rigs źes bya ba ni rigs de la gcig tu gźol ba'i rigs so / rigs gsum ni de bźin gśegs pa daṅ / rdo rje daṅ / padma'i rigs so / 'jig rten pa'i rigs ni lha mal pa'i dge bsñen la sogs pa'i sems can gyi rigs so / 'jig rten las 'das pa'i rigs ni ñan thos daṅ raṅ saṅs rgyas daṅ byaṅ chub sems dpa'i rigs so / ... phyag rgya chen po'i rigs ni lha mo'i rigs te / ... rigs chen gtsug tor gyi rigs ni gtsug tor yi ge gcig pa la sogs pa'i rigs te / rigs de dag skal pa daṅ ldan pa daṅ / skal pa med pa daṅ snod du gyur pa daṅ / snod du ma gyur pa ste /* (174.4.8). We should note here the appearance of the name *Mahāmāyātantra*. Can we suppose that this is the same *Srī Mahāmāyātantrarāja* (Tō. 425) that was translated into Tibetan by that great adversary of the rÑiṅ ma pa, 'Gos lo tsā khug pa lhas btsas [active middle of the 11th cen.]? Or is this another way for MM to refer to the *Māyājālatantra*, or even the *Devījālamahāmāyātantra* (Tō. 836, see note 19 above)? Further research may determine which is correct.

[63] All the commentators divide the *mantra* in verse 27 into six divisions. Each of these divisions is the name of a representative of one of the six families (*kula*), Bodhicittavajra being represented by Arapacana. These are the six Mantrarājas. In the *Māyājālābhisaṃbodhikrama* (vide appendix) this mantra is divided into six mantras which amount to each of the names put in the dative, preceded by Oṃ and followed by *te namaḥ*, i.e. "Oṃ Homage to you Vajratīkṣṇa"; the same procedure extended to the other five, Duḥkhaccheda, Prajñājñānamūrti, Jñānakāya, Vāgīśvara, and Arapacana. See MM 174.5.5 and 174.5.8, VM 238.4.4, SV 253.1.2, VV 189.5.3, and particularly VM 239.1.2 and VV 190.2.2. In the latter place VV follows closely the exposition of Mañjuśrīmitra in the *Upadeśa* (appendix). Of these six epithets, only the names Vajratīkṣṇa, Vāgīśvara, and Arapacana seem to have been in other contexts specifically associated with Mañjuśrī. See Marie-Thérèse de Mallmann, *Étude Iconographique sur Mañjuśrī*, Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient vol. 55 (Paris, 1964), pp. 23-68. Arapacana, of course, represents the esoteric alphabet of the early Mahāyāna, for which see Sylvain Lévi, "Ysa", in *Mémorial Sylvain Lévi* (Paris, 1937), pp. 353-73; John Brough, "The *Arapacana* Syllabary in the Old *Lalita-Vistara*", *Bull. of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 40 (1977): 85-95.

[64] Here the compound *ṣaṇmantrarājānaṃ* is to be considered a *bahuvrīhi* agreeing with *gāthāṃ*, there being a confusion of agreement in gender. BHSG p. 39.

29. "Aspirated, unoriginated, without uttering a sound, he is the foremost cause of all expression, shining forth within all speech.
30. "His great desire is an exalted festival[65], securing the happiness of all beings; his great anger is an exalted festival, being the great enemy of all defilements.
31. "His great delusion is an exalted festival, subduing the delusion in those with dull wit; his great wrath is an exalted festival, the great enemy of great wrath.
32. "His great avarice is an exalted festival, subduing all avarice; his great desire is the great delight, grand happiness and great pleasure.
33. "Of great form and great body, with great color and grand physique, with exalted name he is very noble, having a grand expansive *maṇḍala*.
34. "Bearing the great sword of insight, with a great ankus for defilements, he is foremost, greatly famous, very renowned, with great light and exalted splendor.
35. "Bearing the grand illusion (*mahāmāyā*), he is wise, accomplishing the object [of beings in] the grand illusion[66]. Delighted with the pleasure of the grand illusion, he is a conjuror of grand illusions.
36. "Highest in being a lord of great giving, foremost in exalted morality, firm through embracing great forbearance, he is zealous with great heroism.
37. "Present in exalted meditation (*dhyāna*) and concentration (*samādhi*), bearing the body of great insight, he is great strength (*mahābala*), great means; his is aspiration (*praṇidhi*) and the gnostic ocean (*jñānasāgara*).
38. "Unlimited in loving kindness, greatly compassionate and most intelligent, with great insight and grand intellect, he is great in means with profound performance.
39. "Arrived at great strength and psychic power (*ṛddhi*), very intense and very fast, employing great psychic power and bearing the name 'Great Lord', his zeal is in great strength.
40. "Splitter of the vast mountain of existence, being Mahāvajradhara he is indestructible. Being very fierce and very terrible, he creates fear in the very ferocious.
41. "Being highest with *mahāvidyās*, he is the protector; being highest with *mahāmantras*[67], he is the guide. Having mounted to the practice of the Great Vehicle, he is highest in the practice of the Great Vehicle.

[65] *mahāmaha*. Tibetan *mchod pa chen po*. Although the Tibetan translators have translated the term *maha* as if it equaled offering (*pūjā*), the sense of the term is that of a festival, gathering, or event, either religious or otherwise. The sense is either case is clear, that the utilization of the poisons by the skillful *yogin* is a sure path to liberation.

[66] MM (175.3.1), VV (193.1.5), and VM (239.4.5) consider that this phrase indicates the Bodhisattva's continued incarnation into phenomenal reality to work for the benefit of beings.

[67] VM maintains "That which is *guhyamantra* is masculine and skillful means (*upāya*), while that which is *vidyā* is feminine and insight (*prājñā*)": *gsaṅ sṅags ni pho ste thabs so / rig sṅags ni mo ste śes rab bo /* (238.2.5). VV has an interesting note to this verse to the effect that *dhāraṇīs* are to be considered fourfold: word (*pada*), meaning (*artha*), *mantra*, and those having the nature of a *mudrā*: *gzuṅs bźi'o / de yaṅ tshig daṅ / don daṅ / sṅags daṅ / phyag rgya'i bdag ñid rnams so /* (194.2.8). Unfortunately he does not elaborate on this statement. Cf. the fourfold arrangement of *dhāraṇī* in the

Twenty-five verses, less a quarter, on the very pure dharmadhātu *gnosis.*

42. "Being Mahāvairocana, he is Buddha; he is a great sage with profound sapience, and as he is produced by the great practice of *mantras*, by nature he is the great practice of *mantras*.
43. "Having obtained the ten perfections (*daśapāramitā*), he is the basis (*āśraya*) for the ten perfections. Being the purity of the ten perfections, he is the practice of the ten perfections.
44. "Being the lord of the ten stages (*daśabhūmi*), he is the protector established on the ten stages. Himself pure with the ten knowledges[68], he is the pure bearer of the ten knowledges.
45. "Having ten aspects[69], his purpose being the ten referents[69], he is the leader of sages, a Ten-powered One[70], an overlord. Performing all and every sort of purpose, he is great, with control in ten aspects[71].

Bodhisattvabhūmi, Nalinaksha Dutt, ed., *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, Tibetan Sanskrit Works Series Vol. 7 (Patna: K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute, 1966), pp. 185-6; cf. also the discussion of gender in *mantras* and their relation to *dhāraṇīs* according to later traditions in Alex Wayman, "The Significance of Mantras from the Veda down to Buddhist Tantric Practice", *Indologica Taurinensia* 3-4 (1975-76): 483-97.

[68] The *daśajñāna* are knowledge of dharmas (*dharmajñāna*), successive knowledge (*anvayajñāna*), knowledge of worldly usage (*lokasaṃvṛtijñāna*), of others' minds (*paracittajñāna*), of suffering (*duḥkhajñāna*), of its arising (*samudayajñāna*), of its extinction (*nirodhajñāna*), of the path (*mārgajñāna*), of final destruction (*kṣayajñāna*), and of no future arising (*anutpādajñāna*). V. Louis de La Vallée Poussin, *L'Abhidharmakośa de Vasubandhu* (Brussels: Institut Belge des Hautes Études Chinoises, 1971), vol. 5 p. 11ff. (= Kośa VII:7). See also note 110 *infra*.

[69] *daśākāro daśārthārtho*. All commentators offer different opinions as to what these two groups of ten might be, but all assume that they are related. MM (176.1.7) identifies the ten aspects as a list of ten truths: provisional truth (*kun rdzob kyi bden pa*), absolute truth (*don dam pa'i bden pa*), truth of characteristics (*mtshan ñid bden pa*), truth of distinction (*rnam par phye ba'i bden pa*), truth of certain identification and realization (*ṅes par phye ste rtogs pa'i bden pa*), truth of existents (*dṅos po'i bden pa*), truth of renunciation (*rab tu 'byuṅ ba'i bden pa*), truth of the knowledge of extinction and no further arising (*zad pa daṅ mi skye ba śes pa'i bden pa*), truth of knowledge of entrance into the path (*lam la 'jug pa'i bden pa*), and the truth of the perfect arising of the gnosis of the Tathāgata (*de bźin gśegs pa'i ye śes yaṅ dag par 'byuṅ ba'i bden pa*). Further on MM elaborates, "Since he has for his purpose the motivation of teaching the words and meanings of these ten truths, it is stated that his purpose is the ten referents". *bden pa bcu po de'i tshig daṅ don gaṅ yin pa de ston pa'i dgos pa'i don yod pas na don bcu'i don no* / (176.2.8). VV, on the other hand, states (196.5.5) that the ten aspects are really the ten kinds of grasping after the self listed in *Madhyāntavibhāga* III: 15-16ab and the ten referents are the ten antidotes in *Madhyāntavibhāga* III: 17-22. This leaves VV with the logical difficulty of ascribing to Mañjuśrī the worst kinds of ignorance known to Mahāyāna. VV justifies this by saying, "The significance [of the passage] is that the Bhagavān himself in proper nature is to be understood as being all the undesirable elements as well as their antidotes": *mi mthun pa'i phyogs daṅ gñen po'i phyogs thams cad kyi raṅ bźin du bcom ldan 'das de ñid rig par bya'o źes pa'i don to* / (197.2.1).

[70] Certainly one of the most standard names for the Tathāgata; his ten powers are the power consisting in the knowledge of that which is possible and impossible (*sthānāsthānajñānabala*), of the fruition of action (*karmavipāka-*), of the meditations,

46. "Beginningless and by nature without diffusion (*niṣprapañca*), naturally pure and in nature suchness (*tathatā*), exclaiming just how it is, and, as he says, so he does without any other speech.
47. "Non-dual and proclaiming nonduality, he stands just at the limit of actuality (*bhūtakoṭi*). With his lion's roar of egolessness (*nairātmya*), he frightens the deer that is the evil heretic.
48. "Penetrating everywhere, his path is fruitful (*amogha*); with a speed like the Tathāgata's thought, he is a victor (*jina*) whose enemies are conquered, and a conqueror, a universal ruler with great strength (*mahābala*).
49. "At the head of hosts, a preceptor (*ācārya*) of hosts, a lord of hosts (*gaṇeśa*), and a commander of hosts with power, he is foremost through great sustaining power (*anubhāva*) and with an excellent practice, not to be guided by others.
50. "As the lord of speech, the commander of speech possessed of eloquence, he is the master of speech unending in fluency, and with true speech he speaks the truth, teaching the four truths.
51. "Not turning back and not seeking rebirth (*anāgāmin*), he is like a rhinoceros, a leader of the self-enlightened (*pratyeka*); having been delivered by various kinds of deliverance (*niryāṇa*), he is the unique cause of the great elements (*mahābhūta*)[72].
52. "An Arhan, a *bhikṣu* with his impurities (*āsrava*) exhausted, he is separated from passion, his senses subued. He has obtained ease and fearlessness, becoming cool and limpid.
53. "Completed in wisdom and good conduct (*vidyācaraṇa*), he is well-gone (*sugata*), the best as witan of the world. Without a sense of an 'I' and 'Mine', he is established in the practice of the two truths.
54. "Standing at the uttermost limit of *saṃsāra*, he rests on this terrace, his duty

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emancipations, concentrations, and meditative attainments (*dhyānavimokṣasamādhisamāpatti-*), of the degree of faculties of other beings (*indriyaparāpara-*), of the diverse interests of beings (*nānādhimukti-*), of the diverse dispositions of beings (*nānādhātu-*), of the ways passing into every sort of circumstance (*sarvatragāminīpratipaj-*), of previous lives (*pūrvanivāsa-*), of the deaths and rebirths of beings (*cyutyupapatti-*), and the power consisting in the knowledge of the final destruction of the impurities (*āsravakṣayajñānabala*). See La Vallée Poussin, *L'Abhidharmakośa*, vol. 5 pp. 67-70 (= *Kośa* VII: 28c-29).

[71] At the eighth *bhūmi* (*acalā*) the Bodhisattva acquires these ten kinds of control: control over life (*āyus*), over mind (*cetas*), necessities (*pariṣkāra*), [the maturation of] activity (*karma*), birth (*upapatti*), interest (*adhimukti*), aspiration (*praṇidhāna*), psychic power (*ṛddhi*), Dharma, and control over knowledge (*jñāna*). Vide P.L. Vaidya, ed., *Daśabhūmikasūtra*, Buddhist Sanskrit Texts vol. 7 (Darbhanga: Mithila Institute, 1967), p. 46.6.

[72] Our commentaries offer various ingenious explanations for this somewhat curious phrase. Given the general drift of the text, VM is perhaps the most convincing in declaring, "Even having appeared as the five great elements he performs benefit, as their [the *mahābhūta's*] unique cause is nondual gnosis": *'byuṅ ba chen po lṅar snaṅ nas kyaṅ don mdzad de / de dag gi rgyu ni gñis su med pa'i ye śes so /* (241.2.2). SV (255.1.1) hints at the more standard approach, that of identifying the five great elements with the five *jinas* and making Mañjuśrī the cause of the five *jinas*; cf. *bSam gtan mig sgron*, p. 213.

done. Having rejected isolatory knowledge (*kaivalyajñāna*), he is the cleaving sword of insight.

55. "With True Dharma, a king of Dharma, shining, he is supreme as luminary of the world. A lord of Dharma, a king of Dharma, he is the instructor in the path towards well-being.
56. "His aim accomplished and thought (*saṅkalpa*) accomplished, he has abandoned thought. Devoid of mentation, his sphere is indestructible, the *dharmadhātu*, supreme, imperishable.
57. "Possessed of merit (*puṇyavān*), with accumulated merit, he is knowledge and the great source of knowledge. Possessed of knowledge in knowing the real and unreal, he has accumulated the two accumulations.
58. "Eternal (*śāśvata*), a universal ruler, a *yogin*, he is meditation and to be reflected upon, the lord of the intelligent. He is to be personally realized (*pratyātmavedya*), truly unshakable (*acala*), primeval (*paramādya*), bearing the triple body.
59. "A Buddha in his nature of five bodies[73], an overlord by his nature of five types of gnosis[74], wearing a diadem whose nature is five Buddhas[75], having five eyes[76] he maintains dissociation (*asaṅga*).
60. "The progenitor of all Buddhas, he is Buddha's son, supreme, the best. Arisen from existence in insight[77], he is sourceless; his source is the Dharma while he puts an end to existence.
61. "His unique essence impenetrable, himself a *vajra*, immediately arisen he is the lord of the world; arisen from the sky and self-arisen, he is the exalted fire of insightful gnosis.
62. "Vairocana, the great lumen, the light of gnosis, he is the illuminator; the lamp of the world, the torch of gnosis, with great splendor he is radiant light.
63. "Vidyārāja, the lord of excellent *mantras*, he is *mantrarāja* performing the great goal. As the exalted Coronal Dome (*mahoṣṇiṣa*), the marvellous Coronal Dome, he teaches in every sort of way, the lord of space.
64. "Foremost, as he is the physical presence[78] of all Buddhas, with his eyes bringing happiness to the world; with manifold form he is the creator (*vidhātṛ*), a great sage to be worshipped and honored.

[73] MM as usual provides the most orthodox explanation when he identifies (177.5.2) the *pañcakāya* as the *svabhāvikakāya*, *saṃbhogakāya*, *nirmāṇakāya*, *dharmakāya*, and *jñānakāya*.

[74] See the division titles for this and the following four divisions.

[75] The well known *pañcajina*: Vairocana, Akṣobhya, Ratnasaṃbhava, Amitābha, and Amoghasiddhi.

[76] The five eyes are the corporal eye (*māṃsacakṣus*), the heavenly eye (*divyacakṣus*), the eye of insight (*prajñācakṣus*), the eye of the Dharma (*dharmacakṣus*), and the eye of the Buddha (*buddhacakṣus*).

[77] Existence in insight is defined by VV as the five pure *skandhas*, vide note 107. VV *śes rab srid pa ni dag pa'i phuṅ po lṅa ste /* (201.4.1).

[78] *ātmabhāva*. This term has stimulated some discussion; see BHSD p. 92; Edward Conze, *Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā*, SOR 13 (Rome: ISMEO, 1957), p. 110; J.W. de Jong's review of Conze, *Indo-Iranian Journal* 4 (1960), p. 75 n. 3.

65. "Bearing the three families, he is a possessor of *mantras*, bearing up *mantras* and the great vow; he is best in bearing up the triple gem and the highest teacher of the triple vehicle.
66. "Being Amoghapāśa, he is victorious; as Vajrapāśa he is a great grabber; he is Vajrāṅkuśa with a great noose[79].

Ten verses, plus a quarter, on the mirror-like gnosis.
"The great terror-bearing Vajrabhairava,
67. "King of furies, six-headed and terrible, six-eyed and six-armed and strong; he is a skeleton baring its fangs, hundred-headed, Halāhala[80].
68. "Yamāntaka, the king of obstructions, with the force of a *vajra*, the creator of fear, his is the famous *vajra*, with a *vajra* in his heart, having the illusory *vajra* and a great belly[81].
69. "A lord with his weapon, whose source is *vajra*, with the essence of *vajra* he is like the sky, and having a unique, unmoving multitude of tufts of hair, he is wet in bearing the elephant-skin garment.
70. "With great terror, saying Hā Hā, and creating fear saying Hī Hī, with a terrible laugh, a great laugh, he is Vajrahāsa[82], the great clamor.
71. "He is Vajrasattva, the great being, and Vajrarāja[83] with great bliss. Indestructibly violent with great delight, he performs the Hūṃ of the Vajrahūṃkāra[84].

[79] Amoghapāśa has been the subject of a series of studies by R.O. Meisezahl, "The Amoghapāśahṛdaya-dhāraṇī", *Monumenta Nipponica* 17 (1962): 267-328; idem, "The Amoghapāśahṛdaya Manuscript formerly kept in the Reiunji Temple and its Collateral Texts in Tibetan Transliteration", *Studies of Esoteric Buddhism and Tantrism* (Koyasan, 1965), pp. 179-216. Vajrapāśa and Vajrāṅkuśa are familiar figures as gate guardians in the *vajradhātu maṇḍala* of the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*; see Raghu Vira and Lokesh Chandra, *Maṇḍalas of the Vajrāvalī*, in *A New Tibeto-Mongol Pantheon*, Part 12 (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1967), p. 38; Ryujun Tajima, "The Seating Positions of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas in the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala", *Studies on Buddhism in Japan* (Tokyo: International Buddhist Society, 1972), vol. 3 pp. 93-109; Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, *Niṣpannayogāvalī of Mahāpaṇḍita Abhyākaragupta*, GOS 109 (Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1972), Intro. p. 56, text p. 46.

[80] Halāhala is a form of Avalokiteśvara. See B. Bhattacharya, *Sādhanamālā*, GOS 26 (Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1968) nos. 27-9. VV (203.2.7) maintains that Halāhala is from the *Amoghapāśatantra* which is presumably the *Ārya-Amoghapāśakalparājā-nāma*, Tō. 686.

[81] VV (203.2.8ff.) seems to want to make separate figures of all the epithets which include *vajra*: a moot point at best since I can trace no instance of anyone actually using most of these figures in any system.

[82] Vajrahāsa also belongs to the *vajradhātu maṇḍala*; v. Raghu Vira, *Maṇḍalas*, p. 38; Tajima, "Seating Positions", p. 100; Bhattacharyya, *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, Intro. p. 57, text p. 45.

[83] For Vajrarāja see Raghu Vira, *Maṇḍalas*, p. 38; Tajima, "Seating Positions". pp. 100 and 107; Bhattacharyya, *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, Intro. p. 56, text p. 44.

[84] Vajrahūṃkāra is a practice of meditating on the pronunciation of the adamantine Hūṃ, to be said four times in a row according to VV (204.1.1), which claims the practice to be drawn from the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*. The practice is mentioned in the *Māyājālatantra* (PTT vol. 4 p. 149.3.3) and in the *Guhyasamājatantra*, p. 116.18. As an abstract type the *mantrin* performing the Vajrahūṃkāra was to be generated into a *maṇḍala*. V. Bhattacharyya, *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, Intro. pp. 44-46, text pp. 24-5.

72. "Taking as a weapon the arrow of *vajra*, with the sword of *vajra* he slashes. Holding the crossed *vajra* (*viśvavajra*), a possessor of *vajra*, with the unique *vajra* he is victorious in battle[85].
73. "Having terrible eyes blazing like a *vajra* (*vajrajvālā*)[86] and with hair blazing like a *vajra*, he is Vajrāveśa[87], in exalted possession, with a hundred eyes, eyes of *vajra*.
74. "His body hairs bristling like *vajras*, a unique body with *vajra*-hairs, the origin of his nails in the tips of *vajras*, he has skin which is impenetrable and in essence *vajra*.
75. "Glorious in bearing a rosary of *vajras* and ornamented by ornaments of *vajra*, his is the great noise and the terrible laugh Hā Hā, and the six syllables with noise like a *vajra*[88].
76. "Gentle-voiced (Mañjughoṣa), with a great roar, he is great with the sound unique in the world. He is sonance as far as the end of the sphere of space and the best of those possessed of sound.

Forty-two verses on the gnosis of individual inspection.

77. "Being suchness, actual egolessness, the limit of actuality, and devoid of syllables, he is a bull among the speakers of emptiness with a roar both deep and high.
78. "As the conch of the Dharma he has great sound, and as the gong of the Dharma he has great noise; by his nonlocalized (*apratiṣṭhita*) *nirvāṇa* he is the drum of the Dharma in the ten directions.
79. "Without form and with form he is the foremost, with various forms made from thought (*manomaya*). Being the majesty in the shining of all form, he bears the reflected images in their totality.
80. "Invincible, distinguished, the lord over the triplesphere, being well advanced on the noble path he is the crest ornament of the Dharma with great sovereignty.
81. His body uniquely youthful in the triple world, he is an elder, old, the

[85] *raṇaṃjaha*. There is a pun here since in the Buddhist usage *raṇaṃjaha* may mean either victorious in battle or abandoning impurities; v. BHSD p. 450.

[86] I consider it hardly likely that such a minor figure as Vajrajvālā is really meant, but rather the overtones of the epithet "Blazing like a bolt of lightning". This is definitely the sense of the term in the *Guhyasamājatantra*, p. 15 lines 2 and 14. Vajrajvālā occurs as a minor figure in the *sarvadurgatipariśodhana maṇḍala*, for which v. Bhattacharyya, *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, Intro. p. 70, text p. 69.

[87] Vajrāveśa, like Vajrāṅkuśa and Vajrapāśa, is one of the door guardians for the *vajradhātu maṇḍala* as well as for the *sarvadurgati maṇḍala* and others. V. Bhattacharyya, *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, Intro. pp. 56, 61, and 69, text pp. 46, 55, and 67; Tajima, "Seating Positions", pp. 101 and 108; Raghu Vira, *Maṇḍalas*, pp. 38, 41, and 46.

[88] Presumably the six syllables are the well known *arapacanādi*. MM (179.1.4), however, does not list just what the six syllables are. Neither does VV (204.3.4) in his comment on this verse, but in reference to v. 144d, he gives the six syllables as *Oṃ Vāgīśvara Mu* (219.1.5). SV (256.4.3) offers the mantra *Vajra(ṃ) pratīccha Hūṃ* "Receive the Vajra, Hūṃ", which is six syllables but has little to do with Mañjuśrī. Smṛtijñānakīrti in his commentary on the NS (Tō. 2538, PTT vol. 75 p. 47.5.7) gives the six syllables as *Arapacanāya te namaḥ*, but this is nine syllables.

lord of creatures (*prajāpati*). Bearing the thirty-two marks [of the Mahāpuruṣa] he is charming and handsome in the triple world[89].

82. "A preceptor (*ācārya*) of the qualities and knowledge of the world, with confidence he is the preceptor to the world. He is protector, preserver, trustworthy in the triple world, a refuge and the highest defender.
83. "His active experience (*saṃbhoga*) the extension of space, he is the ocean of the Omniscient's gnosis. He splits the shell around the egg of ignorance and tears the net of existence.
84. "With the general defilements (*saṃkleśa*) totally pacified, he has gone to the far shore of *saṃsāra's* ocean. Wearing the diadem of the gnostic consecration, he has for his ornament the perfectly awakened.
85. "Easing the distress of the three kinds of suffering[90] and bringing the three to an end, he is endless, passed to the triple liberation[91]; released from all veils, he has passed [to the state of] equality (*samatā*) like space.
86. "Beyond the filth of all defilements, he thoroughly comprehends the three times and timelessness; he is the great snake (*mahānāga*) for all beings[92], the crown of those crowned with qualities.
87. "Released from all residues he is well established in the track of space; bearing the great wish-fulfilling gem, he is the highest of all jewels, the overlord.
88. "He is the wide wishing tree and the best of great good vases; an agent acting for the sake of beings, he desires their benefit, with affection towards beings.
89. "Knowing the skillful and the destructive (*śubhāśubha*) and aware of timing, he understands the occasion and, possessing his vow, is the overlord. Knowing the faculties of beings and the correct opportunity, he is skilled in the triple release.
90. "Possessed of qualities, knowing qualities and knowing Dharma, he is auspicious, arisen from the auspicious. The auspiciousness of all that is auspicious, he is fame and fortune, renown and goodness.
91. "Being the great festival, the great respite (*mahāśvāsa*), the grand happiness

[89] See *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* VIII: 13-17 and Alex Wayman, "Contributions Regarding the Thirty-two Characteristics of the Great Person". *Sino-Indian Studies* 5: 3-4 [Liebenthal Festschrift] (1957): 241-60.

[90] These are the suffering of misery (*duḥkhaduḥkhatā*), the suffering of change (*vipariṇāmaduḥkhatā*), and the suffering of conditioned existence (*saṃskāraduḥkhatā*). See La Vallée Poussin, *L'Abhidharmakośa*, vol. 4 p. 126 (= *Kośa* VI: 3).

[91] That is, the liberations of the Śrāvaka, Pratyekabuddha, and the final liberation of the Saṃbuddha. See MM 179.4.5.

[92] MM declares, "He is called the Mahānāga for all beings since he satisfies the mental continuum of beings with the rain of nectar of the true Dharma". *dam pa'i chos kyi bdud rtsi'i char gyis sems can gyi rgyud tshim par mdzad pa'i phyir sems can kun gyi klu chen po'o* / (179.4.8). Alternatively, Edgerton notes that Mahānāga is an epithet of Śrāvakas, in this case meaning a great elephant, vide BHSD p. 423. Finally Tucci notes Haribhadra's definition of a Mahānāga as one who attends a *saṃgīti*, a recitation of the scriptures. G. Tucci, "Animadversiones Indicae", *Journal Asiatic Soc. of Bengal* n.s. 26 (1930), p. 140.

and the great pleasure, he is a considerate reception, hospitality, prosperity, real joy, glory and the lord of renown.

92. "Possessed of excellence, the best benefactor, giving refuge he is the highest refuge. Best among the enemies of great fear, he destroys without exception all fear.

93. "With a tuft of hair, with a crest of hair, an ascetic with braided hair and twisted locks, he has a shaven head and diadem. Having five faces and five hair knots, his flowered crown is of five knots of hair[93].

94. "Holding on to the great vow of austerity, he wears the ascetic's grass girdle, his practice pure and highest in his austere vow. Having great penance and having gone to the fulfillment of asceticism, he has taken his ritual bath to be the foremost Gautama.

95. "A divine *brāhmaṇa*, knower of *brahman*, he is Brahmā having obtained *brahmanirvāṇa*[94]. He is release, liberation, his body true liberation; he is true release, peacefulness, and final blessedness.

96. "He is *nirvāṇa*, cessation, peace, well-being, deliverance and termination. Ending pleasure and pain, he is the utter conclusion (*niṣṭhā*), renunciation, with residues destroyed.

97. "Unconquered, incomparable, indistinct, invisible and spotless, he is partless, with total access, all-pervading, yet subtle, a seed (*bīja*) without impurities.

98. "Without dirt, dustless, stainless, with faults expelled, and free from disease, he is wide awake, himself awakened, omniscient, universally knowing and supreme.

99. "Gone beyond the conditionality of consciousness, he is gnosis, bearing the form of nonduality. Devoid of mentation (*nirvikalpa*), spontaneous, he performs the duty of the Buddhas of the three times.

100. "Without beginning or end, he is Buddha, Ādibuddha without causal connection[95]. Stainless with his unique eye of gnosis, he is embodied gnosis, the Tathāgata.

[93] *pañcacīrakaśekhara*. Some discussion has surrounded the term *pañcacīraka*. Marcelle Lalou, *Iconographie des étoffes peintes dans le Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, Buddhica 6 (Paris: Geuthner, 1930), pp. 66-70, has considered the possibility of the term referring to either five locks of hair or the five-peaked crown usually shown in iconographic representations of the Bodhisattva. Edgerton, however, in BHSD p. 231 has objected that the term can only refer to the five locks of hair. Our commentators in general agree with Edgerton. MM states, "Having his hair locks in the manner of a youth, he is called *pañcacīraka*". *gźon nu'i gzugs kyi gtsug phud mṅa' bas na gtsug phud lṅa daṅ ldan pa'o* / (180.2.5). VV (208.3.3 and 214.5.3, both of which refer back to 189.4.7) considers that the term *pañcacīraka* (or *saccīra*) refers to the five-headed iconographic form of Mañjuśrī as the Ādibuddha. The only dissenting opinion comes with SV's statement (259.4.5) that the *saccīra* of v. 126 (but not *pañcacīraka*) equals the five-peaked crown (*mukuṭa*).

[94] Fitting use of this interesting term which seems to first occur in the *Bhagavadgītā* II: 72. For specifically Buddhist associations surrounding *brahma-* in other compounds, see Paul Mus, *Barabuḍur, Esquisse d'une histoire du Bouddhisme fondée sur la critique archéologique des textes*, BEFEO 34 (1934), p. 715.

[95] *niranvaya*. The usual meaning of this term is to be without association, but all commentators gloss the term specifically as devoid of causation, perhaps due to the context of the Ādibuddha discussion. Likewise the Tibetan translators render it *rgyu med*, causeless. The significance seems to be that, as Ādibuddha, Mañjuśrī is to be considered quite outside the realm of causal association.

101. "Lord of speech, the great expounder, the king of speakers, the chief of speakers, he is supreme in being the most excellent among those speaking, the invincible lion of elucidators.
102. "Seen in all directions, elation itself, with a garland of splendor, handsome, the beloved of Śrī, radiant, illuminating, he is light, with the splendor of the illuminator.
103. "Being the best of great physicians, he is superb, and as a surgeon, the finest. As the tree of every sort of medicine, he is the great enemy of the sickness of defilement (*kleśa*).
104. "In being the *tilaka* mark of the triple world, he is pleasing and glorious, with a mystic circle of the lunar mansions. Extending as far as the sky in the ten directions, he raises high the banner of the Dharma.
105. "Being the unique vast umbrella for the world, his is the mystic circle of loving kindness and compassion. As Padmanarteśvara[96] he is glorious, variegated like a jewel, the great overlord.
106. "Being an exalted king among all Buddhas, he bears the body (*ātmabhāva*) of all Buddhas; as the *mahāyoga*[97] of all Buddhas, he is the unique teaching of all Buddhas.
107. "Glorious with the consecration of Vajraratna[98], he is lord among all jewel monarchs. Being lord over all Lokeśvaras, he is the monarch over all Vajradharas.
108. "As the great mind of all Buddhas, he is present in the mind of all Buddhas[99]. Having the exalted body of all Buddhas, he is the Sarasvatī of all Buddhas.

[96] A form of Avalokiteśvara, Padmanarteśvara is the subject of the *sādhanas* nos. 30-32 in *Sādhanamālā*, vol. 1 pp. 75-7.

[97] For Mahāyoga as a system in the method of Nāgārjuna (*'phags lugs*) v. A. Wayman, *Yoga*, pp. 157-58. For the rÑiṅ ma pa, however, Mahāyoga encompassed *Māyājāla*, since that *tantra* was considered *upāyatantra*; see *bSam gtan mig sgron*, p. 186ff. This seems the earlier tradition, though the dates of Nāgārjuna remain unfixed.

[98] Vajraratna occurs as a figure in the *vajradhātu maṇḍala*, v. Bhattacharyya, *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, Intro. p. 55, text p. 45; Tajima, "Seating Positions", p. 107; Vira, *Maṇḍalas*, p. 38. I am, however, uncertain as to what this fact has to do with his placement in this verse and what his consecration (*abhiṣeka*) might be. Commenting on this line, SV demonstrates the development of *abhiṣeka* in his tradition. He declares, "That which is referred to by 'Glorious with the consecration of Vajraratna', is the Consecration of the Ability of Wisdom. In addition that and the external consecrations, the Vase and the Jewel-like Sprout, the internal consecrations, the Seal (mudrā) as the Sign of the Victors and the Five Bodies of Insightful Wisdom, and the esoteric consecration are all known as Reality. Moreover, if they are demonstrated, the explanation is in letters of jewel-like sound". *rdo rje rin chen dbaṅ bskur dpal źes pa / rig pa rtsal gyi dbaṅ ste / de yaṅ phyi bum pa'i dbaṅ / rin po che myu gu'i dbaṅ daṅ / naṅ rgyal rtags phyag rgya'i dbaṅ daṅ / śes rab rig pa'i sku lṅa'i dbaṅ daṅ / gsaṅ ba'i dbaṅ de kho na ñid ces bya'o / de yaṅ mtshon na rin po che sgra'i yi ge bstan po'o /* (258.4.3).

[99] *manogati*. All commentators (MM 181.2.5, VV 211.5.2, VM 245.5.3, SV 258.4.6) define the term as *manasigata*, present in the mind. Doubtless this reflects a Buddhist usage of the word. Following the commentators, the Tibetan translators rendered it *thugs la gnas*.

109. "The *vajra*-like sun, the great light, with the stainless brilliance of the *vajra*-like moon, and having the great desire of renunciation and so forth, his is the blazing light in every sort of color.
110. "Maintaining the cross-legged position of the completely awakened, he preserves the Dharma discussed by the Buddhas. Arisen from the lotus of the Buddha, he is glorious, wearing the treasury of the omniscient's gnosis.
111. "Bearing every sort of illusion, he is king, and as the holder of the incantations (*vidyādhara*) of the Buddhas, he is exalted. Vajratīkṣṇa with a great sword, he is pure with the highest syllable[100].
112. "Whose great weapon is the Vajradharma of the Great Vehicle which cuts off suffering, he conquers the victors and, deep as a *vajra*, with *vajra*-like intellect, knows objects just as they are.
113. "Fulfilling all the perfections, he wears as ornaments all the levels[101]; as the egolessness of the pure Dharma, his light in his heart is from the moon of perfect gnosis.
114. "With the great perseverance of the *Māyājāla*, becoming the monarch of all *tantras*, he is supreme. Maintaining every cross-legged position, he bears every gnostic body.
115. "As Samantabhadra the very intelligent, being Kṣitigarbha supporting the world, as the great womb of all Buddhas, he bears the wheel of every sort of transformation.
116. "Foremost as the proper nature (*svabhāva*) of all existents, he maintains the proper nature of all existents. By nature unarisen, yet with every sort of referent, he bears the proper nature of all *dharmas*.

[100] The highest syllable is, of course, *a*.

[101] SV uses this opportunity to discourse on his theory of the sixteen levels. SV maintains, "Saying, 'He wears as ornaments all the levels', the text means that from the first level of the Joyful (*pramudita*) to the tenth, these ten lower levels are known as the level of the *nirmāṇakāya*, since one becomes skilled in the ability of insight (*prajñā*). From the eleventh up to the fourteenth, they are called the levels of the *saṃbhogakāya* and, since the principal gnosis is utterly completed, are also called the levels of the *nirmāṇakāya*, various *nirmāṇakāyas* being sent forth at that time. Here there is exertion towards the fixed level of the pure field. From the fifteenth level up to the sixteenth are the levels of *nirvāṇa*, and, being the field of the quiescent *dharmakāya*, are presence in the non-discriminatory insight". *sa rnams kun gyi rgyan daṅ ldan źes pa daṅ po rab tu dga' ba nas bcu pa man chod sprul skui sa'o / śes rab kyi rtsal 'byoṅs pas so / bcu gcig nas bcu bźi'i bar du loṅs sku'i sa ste che ba'i ye śes mthar rdzogs pas sprul pa'i sku'i sa ste / sprul sku 'byin no / źiṅ dag pa ṅes pa'i sa la sbyor ba'o / bco lṅa nas bcu drug tu mya ṅan las 'das pa'i sa ste / źi ba chos kyi sku'i źiṅ ste 'byed pa med pa'i śes rab la gnas pa'o /* (258.5.7). Some years ago Dar thaṅ sprul sku mentioned to me that certain rÑiṅ ma pa scholars have accepted a framework of sixteen levels, but I have been unable to find any evidence of this doctrine in Tibetan writings and do not now have the opportunity of questioning him further. On the contrary I have found evidence that the early rÑiṅ ma savants accepted the standard thirteen levels, known throughout the Vajrayāna; see Roṅ zom chos bzaṅ's *Man ṅag lta ba'i phreṅ ba źes bya ba'i 'grel pa* in *Selected Writings*, p. 109.4.

117. "Having great insight in one instant, he maintains the internal comprehension of all *dharmas*. With his realization toward all *dharmas*, and as the sage at the end of actuality, he is very sharp.
118. "Motionless, himself very clear, he bears the enlightenment of the perfect completely awakened, face to face with all Buddhas, having fire-tongues of gnosis and radiant light.

Twenty-four verses on the gnosis of equality.

119. "As the accomplisher of the desired object, supreme, purifying all evil existences, being the highest of beings, he is the protector, the liberator of all beings.
120. "Alone the hero in the battle with defilements, he kills the pride of the enemy 'unknowing'. He is intelligence and glorious, maintaining an amorous manner (*śṛṅgāra*), yet he bears a form heroic and fearsome.
121. "Shaking a hundred hand-held clubs, dancing with the placing of the feet, with the extension of a hundred glorious arms, he dances the full expanse of space.
122. "Standing on the surface at the summit of the earth which is being overcome by the bottom of one foot, he stands on the nail of the foot's big toe, overcoming the peak of the egg of Brahmā[102].
123. "Being the one goal in the ultimate sense of the non-dual Dharma, he is absolute truth, imperishable. While his sense objects are in the forms of various representations, he is uninterrupted in mind and consciousness.
124. "With pleasure towards every existential object and with pleasure in emptiness, he has the foremost intellect. Having gone beyond the desire and so forth within existence, his great pleasure is toward the three kinds of existence[103].
125. "White like a pure, radiant cloud and shining like the beams of the autumn moon, with the beauty of the mystic circle of the newly risen sun, the light from his nails is intensely red.
126. "His fine hair locks (*saccīra*) with points of sapphire and bearing in his hair crest a great sapphire, glorious with the lustre of great jewels, his ornaments are transformations of the Buddha.
127. "Shaking hundreds of world spheres, he strides wide with the 'feet of psychic power'[104]. Bearing the great recollection, he is reality, the king over the concentration of the four recollections[105].

[102] The egg of Brahmā (*brahmāṇḍa*) is the entire universe as envisioned in Indian mythology.

[103] VV (214.4.6) identifies these three kinds of existence as the standard *kāmadhātu*, *rūpadhātu*, and *ārūpyadhātu*.

[104] A pun on *pāda* in the four bases of psychic power (*ṛddhipāda*). They consist in the basis of psychic power accompanied by the mental *dharma* of exertion in concentration on interest (*chandasamādhiprahāṇasaṃskārasamanvāgatam ṛddhipādam*), on thought (*cittasamādhi-*), on strenuous effort (*vīrya-*), and on investigation (*mīmāṃsā-*). See La Vallée Poussin, *L'Abhidharmakośa*, vol. 4 pp. 285-86 (= *Kośa* VI: 69cd) and particularly p. 286 n. 1 for an interesting discussion on the *ṛddhipādas*.

[105] *Catuḥsmṛti* refers to the four *smṛtyupasthāna*: the application of recollection on the

128. "Fragrant from the blossoms of the limbs of enlightenment[106], being the ocean of qualities of the Tathāgata, in knowing the practice of the eight-limbed path, he knows the path of the perfect completely awakened.
129. "Greatly adhering to all beings, he adheres to nothing, like the sky; arisen from the mind of all beings, he has the speed of the minds of all beings.
130. "Knowing the value of the faculties of all beings, he captures the hearts of all beings; knowing the reality of the meaning in the five *skandhas*, he is the pure bearer of the five *skandhas*[107].
131. "Established at the limit of all modes of deliverance, he is skilled in all modes of deliverance; established on the path of all modes of deliverance, he is the teacher of all modes of deliverance.
132. "Rooting out existence in its twelve limbs[108], he is the pure bearer of twelve aspects[109]; with the aspect of the practice of the four truths, he maintains the realization of the eight knowledges[110].
133. "His referent truth in twelve aspects[111], knowing the sixteen aspects of reality[112], he is totally enlightened to the twenty aspects[113], awake, omniscient and supreme.

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body (*kāyasmṛtyupasthāna*), on the feelings (*vedanā-*), on thought (*citta-*), and on dharmas (*dharmasmṛtyupasthāna*). See La Vallée Poussin, *L'Abhidharmakośa*, vol. 4 p. 158ff. (= *Kośa* VI: 14-19).

[106] VV (215.2.3) identifies these as the well-known list of the seven limbs of enlightenment: recollection (*smṛti*), discriminating comprehension of dharmas (*dharmapravicaya*), strenuous effort (*vīrya*), joy (*prīti*), calming (*praśrabdhi*), concentration (*samādhi*), and equanimity (*upekṣā*). See Har Dayal, *The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1975) pp. 149-55.

[107] VV (215.5.3) identifies the first set of *skandhas* as the five psycho-physical constituents, whereas the second set refers to the five pure *skandhas*: ethical conduct (*śīla*), concentration (*samādhi*), insight (*prajñā*), liberation (*vimukti*), and the vision of the knowledge of liberation (*vimuktijñānadarśana*). See La Vallée Poussin, *L'Abhidharmakośa*, vol. 1 p. 48 (= *Kośa* I: 27).

[108] Viz. the twelve-fold dependent origination (*pratītyasamutpāda*).

[109] MM (182.4.6) maintains that by rooting out the *pratītyasamutpāda*, one becomes the pure bearer of twelve aspects, but does not list just what these twelve aspects are. VM (247.4.2) declares that these twelve pure aspects are the twelve purified senses and sense-fields (*āyatana*) of Mañjuśrī.

[110] The eight knowledges are the knowledges of the elements of the four noble truths (*dharmajñāna*) and the knowledges of the succeeding moments of the four noble truths (*anvayajñāna*). The first are the four knowledges from complete realization of the four truths in the *kāmadhātu* while the second are the four knowledges from the same realization in the *rūpa* and *arūpadhātus*. See La Vallée Poussin, *L'Abhidharmakośa*, vol. 4 pp. 183-5, 273 and vol. 5 p. 5. (= *Kośa* VI: 26, 52c-53b and VII: 3-4b).

[111] MM explains, "Endowed with the characteristic of the twelve aspects of the senses and sense-fields (*āyatanas*), he has those twelve [aspects] which are the twelve aspects of provisional truth (*saṃvṛtisatya*). *skye mched bcu gñis kyi rnam pa'i mtshan ñid can kun rdzob kyi bden pa'i don rnam pa bcu gñis bcu gñis ldan no* / (182.5.1).

[112] MM (182.5.2) equates these sixteen aspects of reality with the sixteen kinds of emptiness. For an exhaustive discussion of the emptinesses, see Étienne Lamotte, *Le Traité de la grande vertu de sagesse de Nāgārjuna* (Louvain: Institut Orientaliste, 1976), vol. 4 pp. 1995-2151.

[113] MM elaborates, "Adding to the aspects of the sixteen knowledges of reality [i.e.

134. "Sending forth[114] crores of emanating bodies of uncountable Buddhas, his complete realization is in every moment, knowing the objects of every instant of the mind.
135. "Considering the purpose of the world by the means of practicing the various vehicles, while delivered by the triple vehicle, he is established in the fruit of the unique vehicle[115].
136. "Himself purified from defiled elements, he subdues the elements of *karma*; crossed over the ocean of the floods, he has departed the wilderness of the adhesions[116].
137. "Along with the perfuming elements (*vāsanās*) he casts off the defilements, the associate defilements, and the general defilements. Being compassion and insight and means, he acts successfully for the sake of the world.
138. "His purpose the casting off of all conceptions (*saṃjñā*), toward the objects of consciousness he maintains suppression. His referent the mind of all beings, he is present in the minds of all beings.
139. "Established within the minds of all beings, he enters into equality with their minds; satisfying the minds of all beings, he is the pleasure of all beings' minds.
140. "Being the final statement, free from bewilderment, he is exempt from all error; having three referents[117], his mind is free of doubt, and having all objects, his nature is of three qualities[118].
141. "His referents the five *skandhas* and the three times, he considers every instant; obtaining total awakening in one instant, he is the bearer of the proper nature of all Buddhas.
142. "Having a bodiless body, the foremost of bodies, he sends forth crores of bodies; displaying forms without exception, he is Ratnaketu, the great gem.

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the sixteen kinds of emptiness] the four aspects of the mirror-like [gnosis], the [gnosis] of equality, the [gnosis] of individual inspection, and the situationally effective [gnosis], the total gives the twenty aspects". *de kho na ñid kyi ye śes bcu drug gi rnam pa la gźan yaṅ me loṅ lta bu daṅ / mñam pa ñid daṅ / so sor rtog pa daṅ / bya ba grub pa ste / rnam pa bźi bsnan pa ni rnam pa ñi śu ste /* (182.5.3).

[114] The term *vibhāvaka* is used by our author in two distinctly different senses, sending forth (eg. v. 134b) and considering, reflecting on (eg. v. 135b).

[115] See D.S. Ruegg's review of H.V. Guenther, *Tibtetan Buddhism without Mystification: The Buddhist Way from Original Tibetan Sources* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1966) in *T'oung Pao* LV (1969), p. 224 where verse 135cd is considered.

[116] The floods (*ogha*) and adhesions (*yoga*) are each applied to the four categories of desire (*kāma*), existence (*bhāva*), view (*dṛṣṭi*), and ignorance (*avidyā*), which are but labels for certain kinds of latent defilements (*anuśayas*) operating in the various realms of existence. For more information on this rather involved system, see La Vallée Poussin, *L'Abhidharmakośa*, vol. 4 pp. 73-77 (= Kośa V:34-8).

[117] MM (183.2.7) defines the three referents as acceptance (*blaṅ ba*), rejection (*spaṅ ba*), and equanimity (*btaṅ sñoms*), whereas MM (218.1.6) lists the three times.

[118] MM (183.2.8) equates the three *guṇas* with the three doors of liberation (*trīṇi vimokṣamukhāni*): emptiness (*śūnyatā*), signlessness (*ānimitta*), and aspirationlessness (*apraṇihita*).

Fifteen verses on the situationally effective gnosis.

143. "To be realized by all Buddhas, as the enlightenment of the Buddha, he is supreme; devoid of syllables, his source is in *mantra*; he is the triad of the great *mantra* families.

144. "The progenitor of the significance of all *mantras*, he is the great *bindu*, devoid of syllables; with five syllables and greatly void, he is voidness in the *bindu*, with one hundred syllables[119].

145. "Having all aspects, having no aspects, he bears four *bindus*[120]; partless, beyond enumeration, he sustains the limit at the level of the fourth meditation[121].

146. "Directly knowing all the branches of meditation, knowing the lineages and families of concentration, with a body of concentration, the foremost of bodies, he is the king of all *saṃbhogakāyas*.

147. "With an emanating body, the foremost of bodies, bearing the lineage of the Buddha's emanations, he emanates forth in every one of the ten directions, acting for the needs of the world just as they are.

148. "The deity beyond gods, the leader of gods, the leader of heavenly beings, he is the lord of demigods, leader of immortals, the guide of heavenly beings, a churner and the lord of churners[122].

149. "Crossed over the wilderness of existence, he is unique, the teacher, the guide of the world; celebrated, and being the donor of Dharma to the world in its ten directions, he is great.

[119] Certainly a strange verse, there is no consensus on it among our commentators. I feel that VM (248.4.1) is probably the most correct in defining the first half of the verse as referring to the meditation of production (*utpattikrama*) and dissolution (*niṣpannakrama*). Everyone gives his own five syllables. MM—*a ra pa ca na* (183.4.2), VV—*aḥ oṃ hūṃ hrīḥ aḥ* (219.1.4), VM—*oṃ aṃ hūṃ svā hā* (248.4.2), while no one identifies the hundred syllables. Perhaps it is a reference to the visualization practice outlined in chapters 20-21 in R. Tajima, *Étude sur le Mahāvairocana-Sūtra* (Paris: Adrien Maisonneuve, 1936), pp. 130-1.

[120] *Bindu* here means *bījamantra*, as all the commentators but SV agree. VM, however, is the only one to supply the *bījamantras*, in this case *a ā aṃ āḥ* (248.4.5) which are a variant on those from the *mantravinyāsa*.

[121] *Caturthadhyāna*. A reference to the system of the four *dhyānas* and *samāpattis*; see Har Dayal, *Bodhisattva Doctrine*, p. 230ff.

[122] VV elaborates, "He is called the leader of gods because he has the nature of Viṣṇu. He is called the deity beyond gods since he has the nature of Brahmā. Likewise, the leader of demigods because he has the nature of the leisurely Vairocana (?), the lord of demigods since he has the nature of the planet Rāhu, the leader of immortals since he has the nature of *Purabhit, the guide of heavenly beings since he has the nature of the planet Bṛhaspati, the churner since he has the nature of Gaṇapati, and he is called the lord of churners because he has the nature of Mahādeva". *de la lha'i dbaṅ po ni khyab 'jug gi raṅ bźin ñid kyi phyir ro / lha'i lha ni tshaṅs pa'i bdag ñid kyi phyir to / lha min dbaṅ po ni rnam par snaṅ byed 'bo le'i gzugs kyis so / lha min bdag ni gza' ra hu la'i raṅ bźin ñid kyi phyir ro / 'chi med dbaṅ po ni groṅ khyer 'jig gi gzugs ñid kyi phyir ro / lha'i bla ni gza' phur bu'i gzugs ñid kyi phyir ro / 'joms byed ni tshogs bdag gi raṅ bźin ñid kyi phyir ro / 'joms byed dbaṅ phyug ni ma hā de ba'i raṅ bźin ñid kyi phyir ro /* (219.5.2). Note that Vilāsavajra seems to have read *devendro 'surendro* for v. 148ab.

150. "Dressed in the mail of loving kindness, equipped with the armor of compassion, [armed] with [a volume (*poṭhī*) of] *prajñā* [-*pāramitā*], a sword, a bow and an arrow, he is victorious in the battle against defilements and unknowing[123].
151. "Having Māra as an enemy, he conquers Māra, a hero putting an end to the terror of the four Māras; the conqueror of the army of all Māras, he is the completely awakened, the leader of the world.
152. "Praiseworthy, honorable, laudable, continually worthy of respect, he is the best of those to be worshipped, venerable, to be given homage, the supreme guide.
153. "His gait being one step through the triple world, his course as far as the end of space, triple-scienced[124], learned in *śruti* and pure, his are the six sublime perceptions[125] and the six recollections[126].
154. "A Bodhisattva, a great being, beyond the world, with great spiritual power, completed in the perfection of insight, he has realized reality through insight.
155. "Knowing himself and knowing others, being all for all, indeed he is the highest type of person; completely beyond all comparisons, he has to be known, the supreme monarch of gnosis.

[123] The three-faced, four-armed form of Mañjuśrī which became developed in the later NS based *sādhanas* doubtless grew out of v. 150cd. See VV's instructions on this verse and note especially the comment, "The specific instruction is this. [Mañjuśrī] is to be conceived of as having a red color and four arms". *man ṅag ni 'di'o / mdog dmar pa daṅ phyag bźi par śes par bya'o /* (220.2.6). Concerning this form see Mallmann, *Étude Iconographique*, pp. 52-56. For the pun in *raṇaṃjaha* see note 55 *supra*.

[124] This verse is interesting in its allusion to the tension between the Buddhist and Brahmanical spheres of technical terms. The Pāli canon knows of two kinds of *trividyā*, the three Vedas for the Brāhmaṇas and the last three of the six *abhijñā* (vide following note) for the Arhan; see the *Tikaṇṇasutta* in Bhikkhu J. Kashyap, ed. *The Aṅguttara Nikāya* (Nālandā: Pāli Publication Board, 1960) vol. I, pp. 150-53. MM (184.1.5) follows the early Buddhist system but applies it to the Bodhisattva.

[125] The *ṣaḍabhijñā* are the sublime perceptions consisting in the realization of the knowledge of the object of concentration (*ṛddhiviṣayajñānasākṣātkriyābhijñā*), of the knowledge of divine hearing (*divyaśrotrajñāna-*), of the knowledge of the gradations of others' minds (*cetaḥparyāyajñāna-*), of the knowledge of the memory of previous existences (*pūrvanivāsānusmṛtijñāna-*), of the knowledge of the arising and passing away [of beings] (*cyutyupapādajñāna-*, sometimes also referred to as the knowledge of divine vision, *divyacakṣurjñāna-*), and the sublime perception consisting in the realization of the knowledge of the utter destruction of impurities (*āsravakṣayajñānasākṣātkriyābhijñā*). See La Vallée Poussin, *L'Abhidharmakośa*, vol. 5 pp. 97-100 (= *Kośa* VII: 421-c).

[126] The *ṣaḍanusmṛti* are the practices of recollecting the Buddha (*buddhānusmṛti*), the Dharma (*dharmānusmṛti*), the Saṅgha (*saṅghānusmṛti*), one's own discipline (*śīlānusmṛti*), one's own renunciation (*tyāgānusmṛti*), and one's chosen divinity (*devatānusmṛti*). Vide BHSD p. 36.

156. "Being the donor of the Dharma, he is best, the teacher of the meaning of the four *mudrā*[127]; he is the best of the venerable ones of the world who travel by the triple deliverance.
157. "Glorious and purified through absolute truth (*paramārtha*), great with the fortune in the triple world, glorious in making all success, Mañjuśrī is supreme among those possessed of glory.

Five verses on the gnosis of the five Tathāgatas.

158. "Reverence to you, the giver of the best, the foremost *vajra*.
Homage to you, the limit of actuality.
Reverence to you, whose womb is emptiness.
Homage to you, the enlightenment of the Buddha.
159. "Reverence to you, the desire of the Buddha.
Homage to you, the passion of the Buddha.
Reverence to you, the joy of the Buddha.
Homage to you, the delight of the Buddha.
160. "Reverence to you, the Buddha's smile,
Homage to you, the Buddha's laugh.
Reverence to you, the Buddha's speech.
Homage to you, the Buddha's internal reality.
161. "Reverence to you, arisen from nonexistence.
Homage to you, the arising of Buddhas.
Reverence to you, arisen from the sky.
Homage to you, the arising of gnosis.
162. "Reverence to you, Illusion's Net.
Homage to you, the Buddha's dancer.
Reverence to you, the all for all.
Homage to you, the gnostic body.

[127] The individual theories of our various commentators on this important topic may be summarized in the following table (VV not reporting):

mudrā		MM (184.2.7)	VM (249.5.6)	SV . (261.4.3)
mahāmudrā	=	*saṃbhogakāya* = *devatākāya*	*devatākāya*	*dharmakāya*
samayamudrā	=	*dharmakāya*	*devatācitta*	*saṃbhogakāya*
dharmamudrā	=	*vāk*	*devatāvāk*	*jñānavāk*
karmamudrā	=	*nirmāṇakāya*	the emanation (*'phro*) and reabsorption (*'du*) of the devatākāya	*nirmāṇakāya*

The striking fact about this table is that, besides there being no mention of the *jñānamudrā* by any of the commentators, the systems involved all invoke the *kāya* doctrine. Moreover, as a whole they represent an entirely different approach from the later *yoginītantra* traditions, for which see Per Kværne, "On the Concept of Sahaja in Indian Buddhist Tantric Literature", *Temenos* 11 (1975): 88-135 and especially pp. 115-124.

Eleven observations in the first round of [discussion on] benefits (anuśaṃsā).

"This, then, O Vajrapāṇi, Vajradhara, is that *Litany of Names* which is pure and unique to the gnostic entity Mañjuśrī, the blessed one, embodied gnosis, the gnostic body of all Tathāgatas. For the sake of producing in you the highest pleasure, certainty and great rapture, for the sake of the esoteric purity of your body, speech and mind, for the purity and completion of those stages, perfections, and accumulations, both of knowledge and of merit, which may yet be impure and incomplete, for the realization of the yet unrealized highest goal, for the obtaining of what is yet unobtained, and moreover for the sake of preserving the practice of the True Dharma of all Tathāgatas, this *Litany of Names* was taught, brought to light, uncovered, detailed, proclaimed, and then established in your mental stream, O Vajrapāṇi, Vajradhara, by me through the transforming influence natural to all *mantras*[128].

Fifty-two observations in the second round of [discussion on] benefits.

"Moreover, O Vajrapāṇi, Vajradhara, this *Litany of Names* is the real secret of the gnosis, body, speech, and mind of the very clean and perfectly purified omniscient. It is the awakened enlightenment of all Tathāgatas and the method of realization (*abhisamaya*) of the complete and perfect Buddhas. It is that which is highest in all Tathāgatas and the realization of the *dharmadhātu* for all the Sugatas. It is the overcoming of the strength of all Māras for all the Victors and contains the power in the ten powers of the Ten-powered. It is the omniscience for every kind of gnosis of the omniscient. It is the traditional scripture for the Dharma of all Buddhas and the attainment of all Buddhas. It is the completion of the stainless and pure collections of knowledge and merit for all great Bodhisattvas, and is the birthplace of all Hearkeners (*śrāvaka*) and Private Buddhas. It is the field of excellence for all gods and men and the abode of the Mahāyāna. It is the source of the Bodhisattva's activity and the culminating point of the perfect noble path. It is the touchstone of liberation and the arising of the path of deliverance. It is the continuity of the Tathāgata's lineage and the growth of the family and lineage of the great Bodhisattvas. It is the suppression of disputants of all rival doctrines and the ruin of all heretics. It is the overcoming of the forces and army and power of the four Māras and the attracting [to the Dharma] of all beings[129]. It is the maturation on the noble path for all those traveling to deliverance, and concentration for those dwelling in the four divine states[130]. It is the meditation of those with one-pointed minds,

[128] *sarvamantradharmatādhiṣṭānena. Adhiṣṭhāna* is a difficult key term, especially for Vajrayāna. Although VV (222.1.5, 222.5.8) consistently glosses the word by "making firm" (*brtan par byed pa*), the wider significance of power or blessing seems to fit the context. Cf. H.G.A. van Zeyst, "Adhiṭṭhāna", *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism* (Colombo: Government of Ceylon, 1963), vol. I pp. 207-08; BHSD pp. 15-16; Snellgrove, *The Hevajra Tantra*, vol. I p. 133.

[129] The standard four activities of attraction are given by VV (222.4.3): liberality (*dāna*), pleasant speech (*priyavāditā*), acting for the welfare of others (*arthacaryā*), and consistency in words and action (*samānārthatā*).

[130] The four divine states, also known as the four unlimited states (*catvāry*

and the yoga of those intent on body, speech and mind. It is the dissociation of all fetters[131] and the removal of all defilements and associate defilements. It is the stilling of all veils and the liberation of all bondage. It is freedom from all residues and peace for all mental afflictions. It is the rich source of all wealth and the loss of all misfortune. It is the closing of the doors to all evil existences, the true path to the city of liberation. It is the disengagement of the wheel of *saṃsāra* and the turning of the Wheel of the Dharma. It is upraised parasols, banners of victory and flags of the Tathāgata's doctrine and the transforming power of instruction on all dharmas. It is the quick success of those Bodhisattvas implementing their practice by means of *mantras*, and the realization in contemplation for those intent on the perfection of insight. It is the penetration into emptiness for those intent on the contemplation of non-dual penetration. It is accomplishment in the accumulation of all perfections, and purity in completion of all stages and perfections. It is the penetration of the perfect four noble truths and the penetration into all *dharmas* with one-pointed mind in the four applications of mindfulness. This *Litany of Names* is even as much as final completion of the qualities of all Buddhas.

Fifty-two observations in the third round of [discussion on] benefits.

"Moreover, O Vajrapāṇi, Vajradhara, this *Litany of Names* quiets every sort of evil in the physical, vocal and mental conduct of all beings. It purifies all the evil existences for all beings and prevents all lower births. Cutting through the veils of all *karma*, it suppresses the arising of all the eight untimely existences[132]. Pacifying the eight great terrors[133], it eliminates all evil dreams. Removing all

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apramāṇāni), are loving kindness (*maitrī*), compassion (*karuṇā*) sympathetic joy (*muditā*), and equanimity (*upekṣā*).

[131] *saṃyojana*. Both VV (222.4.7) and VM identify the *saṃyojana* as affection (*anunaya*), aversion (*pratigha*), arrogance (*māna*), unknowing (*avidyā*), view (*dṛṣṭi*), clinging (*parāmṛśa*), doubt (*vicikitsā*), jealousy (*irṣyā*), and avarice (*mātsarya*). See also La Vallée Poussin, *L'Abhidharmakośa*, vol. 4 pp. 81-7 (= *Kośa* V: 41-44). This same list, with the deletion of (*irṣyā*), is found in VM in the Derge bsTan 'gyur rgyud vol.Tshi fol. 36a.5 and in the Gangtok edition fol. 82b.4, but dropped from the Peking, where it should occur 250.3.4. Doubtless the absence in the Peking and the deletion in the Derge and Gangtok editions represents textual corruption of this very standard list.

[132] *aṣṭākṣaṇa*. The eight untimely existences were considered those in which the practice of Dharma is especially difficult. They consist of birth in hell (*naraka*), among the animals (*tiryak*), among hungry ghosts (*preta*), among the gods possessed of long life (*dīrghāyurdeva*), in a border country where there is no *saṅgha* (*pratyantajanapada*), with defective faculties (*indriyavaikalya*), possessing perverted views (*mithyādarśana*), or birth in a time when no Buddha has come (*tathāgatānām anutpāda*).

[133] *aṣṭamahābhaya*. According to VM the eight great terrors are the terror of lions, tigers, rutting elephants, snakes, punishment by kings, fire, water, and demons. *'jigs pa chen po brgyad ni / seṅ ge daṅ / stag daṅ / glaṅ po che smyon pa daṅ / sprul daṅ / rgyal po'i chad pa daṅ / me daṅ / chu daṅ / śa za'i 'jigs pa daṅ brgyad do /* (250.3.6). There are in reality several lists of the "eight great terrors", and none of them totally agree. Moreover, these lists seem to be primarily connected with the supplication to Tārā. See Stephan Beyer, *The Cult of Tārā* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), pp. 229-32 and note that none of the lists agree with VM.

evil omens, it pacifies all bad signs and obstacls. Quelling all the activities of the enemy Māras, it causes increase in all roots of goodness and merit. Fashioning the nonorigination of mental fixation on the inessential, it strikes down mental inflation, arrogance, conceit, and self-importance. Causing the nonorigination of all suffering and depression, it is the real heart of all Tathāgatas. The real mystery of all Bodhisattvas, it is the true secret of all Hearkeners and Private Buddhas. It is all *mudrās* and all *mantras*. It is the producer of recollection (*smṛti*) and clarity (*samprajanya*) for those asserting the inexpressible character of all *dharmas*. Creating the highest insight and mental vigor, it produces health and strength, dominion and wealth. Producing an increase in glory, virtue, peace, and wholesomeness, it brings to light fame, renown, notoriety, and praise while quelling all disease and the great terrors. It is the purest of the purest, the very best method of purification among the best methods of purification, the best fortune of best fortunes, and the very best auspiciousness of all that is auspicious. It is a refuge for those desiring a refuge, a place of rest for those desiring a place of rest, a haven for those wishing a haven, and final relief for those without final relief. It is the true island of those needing an island, the highest resource of those who are resourceless, and the true ship of those traveling to the other shore of existence. It is the true great king of medecines for the elimination of all disease, real insight for the discrimination of elements to be abandoned and accepted, and the very light of gnosis for the dispelling of all darkness, obscurity and unwholesome views. It is the real wish-granting gem for the fulfilling of the aims of all beings just as they each intend. It is the omniscients' true gnosis for obtaining the gnostic body of Mañjuśrī, and the real vision of pure gnosis for obtaining the five eyes[134]. It is the true completing of the six perfections through the giving of possessions, of fearlessness, and of the gift of the Dharma. It is true attainment of the ten stages through the completion of *samādhi* and the accumulations of knowledge and merit. It is nondual natural reality (*advayadharmatā*) since it is separated from all characteristics of duality. It is the actual fact of suchness (*tathatā*) and not other than natural reality since it is separated from all false assertions. It is the actual fact of the limit of actuality (*bhūtakoṭi*) by being the proper nature of the pure Tathāgata's gnostic body. It is in every respect the actual fact of the great emptiness through destroying without the slightest residue the path through the dense forest of unwholesome views. This *Litany of Names*, with the inexpressible form of all *dharmas*, may be said to be thus since it brings to light the preservation of [Mañjuśrī's] names for the sake of [entrance into] nondual natural reality.

Nineteen observations in the fourth round of [discussion on] benefits.

"Moreover, O Vajrapāṇi, Vajradhara, whatever son or daughter of good family implementing his practice by means of *mantras* will—without interruption three times every day, with just these verses, words, and syllables—support, proclaim, master, and apply his mind to the essentials of this nondual crest jewel of names possessed of absolute truth, this totally complete, neither fragmentary nor deficient *Litany of Names* of the blessed one, the gnostic entity Mañjuśrī, who is embodied gnosis, the gnostic body of all Tathāgatas, and [whatever son or

[134] Vide note 76 *supra*.

daughter of good family] will teach [the text] in full suitably to others, or even one or another of the many names individually, [that son or daughter] making the gnostic body of Mañjuśrī his object of meditation (*ālambana*) will become mentally one-pointed. Dwelling in the state of "facing everywhere" (*samantamukha*) through intense interest (*adhimukti*) and the application of his mind on reality, he will be endowed with supreme clear faith, pierced through with insight and intent on all *dharmas*. To him all the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas from all the three times and timelessness, having approached and assembled, will display all the means of the Dharma. In addition, they will demonstrate their physical presence (*ātmabhāva*). Moreover, the Great Wrathful Kings (*mahākrodharāja*) beginning with Mahāvajradhara, the tamers of those who are difficult to tame and who are the very preservation of the world, will demonstrate the strength of vitality (*ojas*), splendor, inviolability, and all *mudrās*, *mantras*, and *maṇḍalas* of the various methods of realization (*abhisamaya*) through their visible forms (*rūpakāya*) performing every sort of transformation. So too, the Mantravidyārājñīs without exception and all the destroyers of obstacles, the enemies of Māra, Mahāpratyaṅgirā[135] and Mahāparājitā[136] will every instant, day and night, guard, protect, and defend [that son or daughter] in all the four sorts of circumspect behavior[137]. They will produce the transforming influence of all the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas and, with all their bodies, voices and minds, will perfectly establish it in his mental stream. They will confer kindness through the kindness of all Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. They will also induce in him toward all *dharmas* fearlessness and its eloquence. They will demonstrate to him the physical presence with the affectionate intentionality (*āśayatā*) in the Noble Dharma, even from all Arhats, Hearkeners, and Private Buddhas. Moreover, Brahmā, Indra, Upendra, Rudra, Nārāyaṇa, Sanatkumāra, Maheśvara, Kārttikeya, Mahākāla, Nandikeśvara, Yama, Varuṇa, Kuvera, Hārītī, and the guardians of the world in its ten directions will supremely guard, protect, and defend him continually day and night, whether going or standing, lying or sitting, dreaming or waking, in peak experience (*samāhita*) or not, in solitude or in a crowd of people, even through town and city, in metropolis and district, through kingdom and citadel, on the threshold to the capital or the open highway, on main street or at the city gate, on lane or crossroads, at an intersection or strange city, in the common market or private shop, even as far as in fast solitude and the mountain cave. Whether he is approaching a river or wood or dense forest, whether personally defiled or not, whether insane or heedless, [they will protect him] always, in every way, with every means. Day and night they will confer on him supreme success. Still other gods and *nāgas*, *yakṣas* and *gandarvas*, demigods and *garuḍas*, *kiṃnaras* and *mahoragas*, humans and nonhumans, and other planets and lunar mansions, divine mothers and lords of hosts, as well as the Seven

[135] The description of Mahāpratyaṅgirā according to a possibly later tradition is found in *Sādhanamālā*, vol. 2 p. 402.

[136] Vide *Sādhanamālā*, vol. 2 p. 403.

[137] *īryāpatha*. These four sorts of behavior are going, standing, lying or sitting, listed a little later in this *cakra*. Since one performs them in a circumspect manner, they are called circumspect behavior.

Divine Mothers[138], *yakṣiṇīs*, *rākṣasīs*, and *piśācīs*, all united and harmonious, with armies and attendants, will guard, protect and defend him. Still more they will infuse in his body vitality and strength, and they will induce in him the strength of health and the extension of life.

Fifty-one observations of the fifth round of [discussion on] benefits.

"Moreover, O Vajrapāṇi, Vajradhara, [whatever son or daughter of good family], out of this unbroken undertaking, will recite thrice daily this crest jewel of names, this *Litany of Names*, or will set about reciting it inscribed in a book—and in making his object of meditation the form of the blessed one, the gnostic entity Mañjuśrī, while reflecting and meditating on that form, and employing the discipline of the Dharma—even before very long [that son or daughter] will see [Mañjuśrī's] form in its visible manifestation (*rūpakāya*). Further he will see accompanying it all the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas with visible forms (*rūpakāya*) performing every sort of transformation in the vault of space. Never will that great being at any time or in any way fall into an evil existence or lower birth. Neither will he be born into a low family, nor in a border country. Neither will he take birth in a family holding false views, nor will he be born in buddhafields devoid of Buddhas. Never for him will there be the invisibility [of a path due to the] lack of the arising of a Buddha and the Dharma taught by such a one. Never will he be born among the gods fond of long life. Neither will he take birth in intermediate aeons characterized by famine, disease and weapons[139], nor will he be born in times of the five degradations[140]. Neither for him will there be fear of kings, enemies, and thieves, nor fear of any kind of deficiency or poverty. Never will he fear ill repute, slander, censure, or disgrace. He will be of fine class, family, and lineage. Always having form and color attractive in every way, he will be beloved, charming, pleasant to be with, and pleasing to the sight of the world. He will be splendid, with good fortune, and felicitous in speech. In whichever places he will take birth, in each of them he will remember his previous births. With great enjoyment and vast retinue, he will remain undiminished in both enjoyment and retinue. Foremost among all beings, he will be accompanied with the highest qualities. Naturally he will be accompanied with the qualities of the six perfections while dwelling in the four divine states (*brahmavihāra*). Accompanied by recollection, clarity, means, strength, aspiration, and gnosis, he will be eloquent with fearlessness toward all scholastic works (*śāstra*). With clear speech, not foolish, he will be clever, sagacious, energetic, satisfied, with an exalted goal,

[138] Sapta Mātaraḥ is a variant of the more common Sapta Mātṛkāḥ, for which see T.A. Gopinath Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography* (New York: Paragon, 1968), vol. 1 pp. 379-89.

[139] According to the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* these three conditions characterize the end of an *antarakalpa*. *tribhir antarakalpasya niryāṇaṃ bhavati / śastreṇa rogeṇa durbhikṣeṇa ca /* (*Bhāṣya* on *Kośa* III: 99ab). This is not quite made clear in Poussin's translation, *L'Abhidharmakośa*, vol. 2 p. 207.

[140] *pañcakaṣāya*. The five degradations are the degradations of life (*āyus*), aeon (*kalpa*), defilement (*kleśa*), view (*dṛṣṭi*), and beings (*sattva*). Vide Poussin, *L'Abhidharmakośa*, vol. 2 pp. 193-94.

free from grasping. He will have the supreme trust of all beings and the respect of preceptors (*ācārya*), masters (*upādhyāya*), and guides (*guru*). Scholastic works on gnosis, sublime perception (*abhijñā*), and the arts and crafts, though not previously heard by him, will all be realized according to the words and meaning, as if clear reflected images. He will act with very pure discipline, livelihood, and manner of conduct; he will be well gone forth and well ordained. He will remain undistracted in omniscience with the exalted mind of enlightenment (*mahābodhicitta*), while never passing through the entrance to the certain fixation of the Hearkeners, Arhats, and Private Buddhas.

Unlimited observations in the sixth round of [discussion on] benefits.

"Thus, O Vajrapāṇi, Vajradhara, that [son or daughter of good family] in implementing his practice by means of *mantras* will be accompanied by other innumerable masses of qualities of the same kind and with the same nature [as those enumerated above]. Just before very long, O Vajrapāṇi, Vajradhara, that bull among men, the preserver of this *Litany of Names* which has absolute truth, having well collected the collections of merit and knowledge, and having gathered to perfection the qualities of the Buddha, will most quickly and thoroughly awaken to utter complete perfect enlightenment. The highest teacher of Dharma to all beings, his Dharma the vast wholesome final *nirvāṇa*, he is empowered (*adhiṣṭhita*) as Dharmarāja, his drum of the true Dharma sounding in the ten directions.

The arrangement of the mantra (mantravinyāsa).

Oṃ, O pure *vajra* whose proper nature is the nonexistence of all *dharmas*, *a ā aṃ aḥ*—that is to say, employing the purity of Mañjuśrī, the gnostic body of all Tathāgatas, *a aḥ*, bear up, bear up the heart of all Tathāgatas—Oṃ Hūṃ Hrīḥ. O blessed one, O Lord of Speech who is embodied gnosis, with great speech, O embryo of the gnosis of the *dharmadhātu*, being very pure and stainless like the spatial field of all *dharmas*—*āḥ*".

Five verses as an epilogue.

163. Then the glorious Vajradhara, joyful and glad, with his hands folded in homage, bowed to the protector, the completely awakened, the blessed one, the Tathāgata.
164. And with many other kinds of Vajrapāṇis, all of them esoteric leaders, protectors, and kings of wrath, he loudly replied,
165. "We rejoice, O protector, it is good, it is fine, it is well said. Great benefit is done for us in causing us to obtain perfect enlightenment.
166. "And also for this unprotected world desiring the fruit of liberation, this purified path to well-being is proclaimed as the practice of Illusion's Net.
167. "It is deep, lofty, and extensive, with great meaning, performing the aims of the world; indeed, this object of knowledge of the Buddhas has been taught by the perfect completely awakened".

Proclaimed by the blessed one, the Tathāgata Śākyamuni in the Net of Samādhi chapter occurring in the *mahāyogatantra*, the *Āryamāyājāla* in sixteen thousand lines, this *Litany of Names* of the blessed one, the gnostic entity Mañjuśrī, possessing absolute validity is hereby complete.

Appendix
Mañjuśrīmitra's *Upadeśa*[141]

First thinking, "I will obtain Buddhahood for the sake of all beings", then through saying, "*a ā i ī u ū e ai o au aṃ aḥ*", rays of light, being the light of one's own mind from the proper nature of emptiness and considered as the vowels (*āli*) and consonants (*kāli*), construct the basic *maṇḍala*[142]. In the center of that *maṇḍala*, [the *mantrin*] visualizes a lion throne on a *maṇḍala* of the sun[143]. Then with the words, "*sthito hṛdi jñānamūrtir ahaṃ buddho buddhānāṃ tryadhvavartinām*", (v. 26) he visualizes [on the throne] Mahāvairocana *Samantamukha (*kun tu źal*). Visualizing in [Mahāvairocana's] heart the Ādibuddha [Mañjuśrī], in the heart of the Ādibuddha [the *mantrin*] contemplates the Wheel of Insight (*prajñacakra*). While saying the *mantras*, "*Oṃ Vajratīkṣṇāya te namaḥ. Oṃ Duḥkhacchedāya te namaḥ. Oṃ Prajñājñānamūrtaye te namaḥ. Oṃ Jñānakāyāya te namaḥ. Oṃ Vāgīśvarāya te namaḥ. Oṃ Arapacanāya te namaḥ*", (v. 27) he visualizes the six spokes on the Wheel of Insight. Above that wheel [the *mantrin*] contemplates the gnostic entity (*jñānasattva*) [as the syllable] *a* on a moon. He imagines the light rays of the *a* entering himself [in the form of] the six gnostic (*jñāna*) *maṇḍalas*[144]. He then recites the *Litany of Names*, beginning with the *maṇḍala* of Bodhicittavajra. So beginning with "And in this way the blessed one", (v. 28) up to "he is highest in the practice of the Great Vehicle", (v. 41) through the recitation of these fourteen verses, the visual words corresponding to the names recited (*mtshan don*) arise from the gnostic entity, the syllable *a*. These words then turn into the group of deities belonging to the *maṇḍala* of the blessed Bodhicittavajra[145]. Having gone forth, they work for the sake of beings;

[141] *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgītyupadeśa*. Tō. 2555, PTT vol. 75 p. 128.3.7. The text of the Peking edition is very faulty, demonstrating similarities in this respect to the text of VM, and like VM has to be supplemented from the Derge. Even then difficulties remain; see notes 146 and 149 *infra*. The visualization contained in this *Upadeśa* is directly referred to by VV (190.4.3) as the *Māyājālābhisaṃbodhikrama*, and is strongly similar to Mañjuśrīmitra's major ritual work, the *maṇḍalavidhi* known as the *Ākāśavimala* (Tō. 2543). The major differences are that the *Upadeśa* deals primarily with the context of chanting the NS, whereas the *Ākāśavimala* utilizes prayers based on selected verses from the NS for the larger ritual context of the *maṇḍalavidhi* and the various *abhiṣeka*. Within the *Ākāśavimala*, the visualization enjoined represents an expanded and more detailed version of that in the *Upadeśa*, while varying from it slightly.

[142] *rten gyi dkyil 'khor*. The term is very loose and can refer to almost any basis used as a support for the *maṇḍala*, but what is noticeable by its absence is any reference to the palace (*kūṭāgāra*). Compare the *Ākāśavimala* (PTT vol. 75 p. 119.5.5) which elaborately discusses the structures constructed by the vowels (*āli*) and consonants (*kāli*), including the palace.

[143] i.e. a horizontal golden disc. Likewise the moon identified later is a silver-white disc.

[144] According to Thar rtse mkhan rin po che, the six *jñānamaṇḍalas* mentioned actually refer to the six *mantras* (*Oṃ Vajratīkṣṇāya* etc.) coming forth from the *a*. Each of them revolves in a spiral until it enters the *mantrin's* heart.

[145] For an elaboration of the *maṇḍalas* invoked in the *Upadeśa*, vide the *Ākāśavimala* (PTT vol. 75 p. 120.1.5), and the *maṇḍalavidhis* for each of the *maṇḍalas* separately (Tō. 2545-47, but the *maṇḍalavidhis* for Akṣobhya, Amitābha, and Ratnasaṃbhava do

returning, they assemble again in the *maṇḍala*. [The *mantrin*] visualizes them taking their place surrounding Mahāvairocana.

Then beginning with "Being Mahāvairocana, he is Buddha", (v. 42) up to "he is Vajrāṅkuśa with a great noose", (v. 66) through the recitation of these twenty-five verses, less a quarter, the one hundred and eighty-one syllables of the visual words corresponding to the names recited proceed forth from the gnostic entity *a* in the heart [of the Ādibuddha]. They turn into the deities belonging to the *maṇḍala* of Vairocana, and having worked for the sake of beings, they return to become the immediate retinue of Mahāvairocana.

Again, beginning with "The great terror-bearing Vajrabhairava", (v. 66d) up to "the best of those possessed of sound", (v. 76) through the recitation of these ten verses, plus a quarter, the syllables of the visual words corresponding to the names recited arise from the gnostic entity *a* in the heart [of the Ādibuddha]. [They become transformed into the *maṇḍala* of the Buddha Akṣobhya][146]. Proceeding forth, they tame the noxious beings of the world; then [the *mantrin*] visualizes them returning to occupy their position in the eastern portion of the great *maṇḍala*.

Once again, beginning with "Being suchness, actual egolessness", (v. 77) up to "having fire-tongues of gnosis and radiant light", (v. 118) through the recitation of these forty-two verses, the two hundred thirty-five syllables of the visual words corresponding to the names recited arise from the gnostic entity *a* in the heart [of the Ādibuddha]. [The *mantrin*] visualizes them proceeding forth, and, transformed into the *maṇḍala* of the Buddha Amitābha, they work for the benefit of beings, finally returning to occupy their position in the western portion of the great *maṇḍala*.

Then beginning with "As the accomplisher of the desired object, supreme", (v. 119) up to "he is Ratnaketu, the great gem", (v. 142) through the recitation of these twenty-four verses, the one hundred twenty-four syllables of the visual words corresponding to the names recited proceed forth from the gnostic entity *a* in the heart [of the Ādibuddha]. [The *mantrin*] visualizes them transformed into the *maṇḍala* of the Buddha Ratnasaṃbhava, and having worked for the benefit of beings, they return to occupy their position in the southern portion of the great *maṇḍala*.

Finally beginning with "To be realized by all Buddhas", (v. 143) up to "Mañjuśrī is supreme among those possessed of glory", (v. 157) through the recitation of these fifteen verses, the ninety-nine syllables of the visual words corresponding to the names recited proceed forth from the gnostic entity *a* in the heart [of the Ādibuddha]. [The *mantrin*] visualizes them transformed into the *maṇḍala* of the Buddha Amoghasiddhi, and, having accomplished the thought of

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not seem to have been included in the Derge while they are found PTT vol. 75 p. 125.2.2ff.). See also Bu-ston's short but very helpful work on the *yogatantra maṇḍala* systems of the NS, *Collected Works of Bu-ston*, vol. 17 p. 296.1ff.

[146] Considering the parallel construction of the next three *maṇḍalas*, after *spros pas* on 128.5.2 of the text we should apparently insert *saṅs rgyas mi bskyod pa'i dkyil 'khor sprul pas*, which is missing from both the Peking and Derge editions. This definitely reflects the haphazard nature of the textual transmission of these non-mainstream works.

beings, they return to assemble and occupy their position in the northern portion of the great *maṇḍala*.

Thus based on these six *maṇḍalas*, [the *mantrin*] recites from "And in this way the blessed one", (v. 28) up to "Mañjuśrī is supreme among those possessed of glory", (v. 157) while thinking of praise and offering. Then directed generally to the whole great *maṇḍala*, he praises it with the twenty praises (vv. 158-162). Following that praise, he prays for whatever object may be desired and then transfers this root of virtue for the supreme enlightenment [of all beings][147]. With the *mantra* "*Oṃ Svabhāva*" and so forth, he stainlessly and perfectly contemplates that all dharmas, being naturally pure and without diffusion (*niṣprapañca*), are the proper nature of Mañjughoṣa, like the sky. Thereupon he may perform other ritual activity (*kriyā*) in this path of practice[148]. In this manner, by virtue of the families (*kula*) being gathered in this assembly and in this *Litany of Names*, there are said to be two hundred and sixty-two verses. Of them one hundred and fifty belong to the section on benefits (*anuśaṃsā*)[149]. Therefore, this is the *Litany of Names of the Buddha* including the section on benefits. This *Specific Instruction* (*upadeśa*) on the *Litany of Names of Mañjuśrī* written by the Ācārya Mañjuśrīmitra is hereby complete.

[147] Doubtless Mañjuśrīmitra had in mind his *dGe ba'i rtsa ba bsṅo ba* (Tō. 2556), the very short transfer of merit that he wrote to fit his system.

[148] These other ritual activities might include a *homavidhi* (Tō. 2569) or *balividhi* (Tō. 2551) or ritual ablutions (Tō. 2548) and so forth.

[149] The temptation is to ascribe this set of numbers to the loose textual tradition and assert that they are a corruption of the more standard description found in VV 185.2.6, i.e., that the verses account for one hundred sixty-two *ślokas* while the *anuśaṃsā* in totality is the equivalent of one hundred fifty verses. This is certainly the figure behind the ascription of three hundred *ślokas* to the NS (i.e. with *anuśaṃsā*) in the *ldan-kar* catalogue no. 438; see M. Lalou, "Les Textes", p. 329. Compare also Bu ston's total of three hundred twenty verses and two *pādas* in his large *rGyud sde spyi'i rnam gžag* in *Collected Works of Bu-ston*, vol. 15 p. 347.1. The whole question of numbers, however, is confused, especially with respect to the *anuśaṃsā*. By most accounts the *anuśaṃsā*, together with the five *upasaṃhāra* verses and the *mantravinyāsa*, was considered a numerically rounded-off mass of material, constituting one hundred fifty verses. That this material was somehow thought to be generically different from the earlier verses of the NS by the tradition stemming from the time of Mañjuśrīmitra, further supports our hypothesis that it arose as a unit apart from the earlier verses.

The Sanskrit text of the *Mañjuśrījñānasattvasya Paramārthā Nāmasaṃgītiḥ*

Initially my intention was to merely translate the NS, utilizing one of the three critical editions mentioned above and giving in the notes the necessary variants from the other two to justify the reading of the translator. Very quickly, however, I saw that this would only be possible with Minaev's edition as it has the only complete *anuśaṃsā*. Matters were complicated by the fact that Minaev's text, being an Imperial Russian publication, is very scarce and neither Vira nor Mukherji had access to it. Moreover, I wished to utilize the various Tibetan translations and commentaries for the resolution of difficult or obscure passages. Eventually I was forced to the conclusion that the most advantageous course would be to provide a new edition of the NS through the collation of the three existing editions in comparison with the Tibetan versions and the commentators' texts.

I have no doubt that the text provided here can be improved upon, particularly the *anuśaṃsā*. There are many mss. available in Cambridge and Tokyo which could be used for an improved edition[1], but the sources in India seem to have been exhausted with the two Indian editions. It is my intention to facilitate any future editions of the NS by listing all the variants given by the three editors and, where necessary, including readings from the Tibetan materials. I have exploited fully the Tibetan (bLo gros brtan pa) for variants only in the case of the *anuśaṃsā* due to the dearth of readings for that section of the NS. Elsewhere I have appealed to the Tibetan translations only where I felt that they provided the best readings. In this sense my methodology has been that outlined by Snellgrove in his edition of the *Hevajra Tantra*[2], and despite the objections of Tsuda[3] this still appears to be far and away the best procedure in dealing with Vajrayāna material.

For the general nature of the language, versification and so forth of Guhyamantrayāna texts, I would refer the reader to the previous observations of Snellgrove, Tsuda, and George[4]. Suffice to say that the NS is no exception, and at times the meter, declensions, and *saṃdhi* are very irregular. Some of the most bizarre occurrences appear to be connected with the various transformations of the term *rājan* (ed. cf. vv. 25, 55, 63, and 164). Most of the *saṃdhi* readings have been taken from Minaev since there appears to have been some effort on the part of Vira and Mukherji to regularize the text. Moreover, minor differences in *saṃdhi* between the three editions have not been listed in the apparatus.

[1] See Seiren Matsunami, *A Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Tokyo University Library* (Tokyo: Suzuki Research Foundation, 1965), pp. 258-260.

[2] Snellgrove, *Hevajra Tantra*, vol. 2 pp. viii-ix.

[3] Shinichi Tsuda, *The Saṃvarodaya-Tantra: Selected Chapters* (Tokyo: Hokuseido Press, 1974), pp. 6-10.

[4] Snellgrove, *Hevajra Tantra*, vol. 2 pp. x-xi; Tsuda, *Saṃvarodaya-Tantra*, pp. 16-27; Christopher S. George, *The Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa Tantra* (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1974), pp. 14-17.

Abbreviations used in the apparatus.

A	=	Mukherji's ms. A which is Asiatic Society of Bengal no. 57; see Hara Prasad Shāstri, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanscrit Manuscripts in the Government Collection* (Calcutta: Asiatic Society, 1917), p. 60 for remarks.
B	=	Mukherji's ms. B which is A.S.B. no. 56, ibid p. 59.
Bi	=	Peking *gsum bid* edition, date uncertain. Minaev ms. P. Mukherji ms. X. Vira ms. Pe. See Vira p. (10) for remarks.
K	=	Ms. of VV in the possession of the St. Petersburg Imperial Library when utilized by Minaev, p. (XII); cf. Bendall, *Catalogue*, p. 203 and *JRAS* n.s. 8 (1876), p. 25.
M	=	Minaev ms. M, new Newari. Vide Minaev p. (XI) for remarks.
Minaev	=	Text of the NS as printed by Minaev.
Mukherji	=	Text of the NS as printed by Mukherji.
Ne	=	Vira's Newari-Sanskrit printed edition, see Vira p. (10).
P	=	Paris ms. of the NS used by Minaev. See Jean Filliozat, *Catalogue du Fonds Sanscrit* (Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1941), p. 95 (no. 159: 1) for details.
Quad	=	Quadrilingual xylographic edition of Altan Khan, dated 1501 A.D. Vira no. c, see Vira p. (12) for remarks.
Vira	=	Text of the NS as printed by Vira, including the readings finally accepted by the editor and given in the Variae Lectiones pp. (13)-(16).
Y	=	Minaev ms. Y, Imperial Library of St. Petersburg Univ. no. 25419, one of a bundle of works rather like P.

namo mañjuśrīkumārabhūtāya //

atha vajradharaḥ śrīmān durdāntadamakaḥ paraḥ /
trilokavijayī vīro guhyarāṭ kuliśeśvaraḥ // (1)

vibuddhapuṇḍarīkākṣaḥ protphullakamalānanaḥ /
prollālayan vajravaraṃ svakareṇa muhur muhuḥ // (2)

bhṛkuṭītaraṅgapramukhair anantair vajrapāṇibhiḥ /
durdāntadamakair vīrair vīrabībhatsarūpibhiḥ // (3)

ullālayadbhiḥ svakaraiḥ prasphuradvajrakoṭibhiḥ /
prajñopāyamahākaruṇājagadarthakaraiḥ paraiḥ // (4)

hṛṣṭatuṣṭāśayair muditaiḥ krodhavigraharūpibhiḥ /
buddhakṛtyakarair nāthaiḥ sārdhaṃ praṇatavigrahaiḥ // (5)

Homage: M Oṃ namaḥ śrīmañjunāthāya. Minaev, A Oṃ namo Mañjunāthāya.

v. 1: M, A, Ne trailokya-. Y viloka-.

v. 2: Quad vibuddhaḥ. Ne praphullaka-. A prollālayavajravara. Ne prollālayad-vajravaraḥ.

v. 3: A -ṭaraṃga-, -damako viro. Bi (Mukherji alone reporting) vībhasatsa-. Mukherji -vībhatsa-.

v. 4: A ullālayabhi. B prasphulla-.

v. 5: A -tuṣṭāsayi, praṇanta-.

praṇamya nāthaṃ sambuddhaṃ bhagavantaṃ tathāgataṃ /
kṛtāñjalipuṭo bhūtvā idam āha sthito 'grataḥ // (6)

maddhitāya mamârthāya anukampāya me vibho /
māyājālābhisambodher yathā lābhī bhavāmy ahaṃ // (7)

ajñānapaṅkamagnānāṃ kleśavyākulacetasāṃ /
hitāya sarvasattvānām anuttaraphalāptaye // (8)

prakāśayatu saṃbuddho bhagavāṃ śāstā jagadguruḥ /
mahāsamayatattvajña indriyāśayavit paraḥ // (9)

bhagavajjñānakāyasya mahoṣṇīṣasya gīṣpateḥ /
mañjuśrījñānasattvasya jñānamūrtteḥ svayaṃbhuvaḥ // (10)

gambhīrārthām udārārthāṃ mahārthām asamāṃ śivāṃ /
ādimadhyāntakalyāṇīṃ nāmasaṃgītim uttamāṃ // (11)

yâtītair bhāṣitā buddhair bhāṣiṣyante hy anāgatāḥ /
pratyutpannāś ca saṃbuddhā yāṃ bhāṣante punaḥ punaḥ // (12)

māyājālamahātantre yā câsmiṃ saṃpragīyate /
mahāvajradharair hṛṣṭair ameyair mantradhāribhiḥ // (13)

ahaṃ caināṃ dhārayiṣyāmy ā niryāṇād dṛḍhāśayaḥ /
yathā bhavāmy ahaṃ nātha sarvasaṃbuddhaguhyadhṛk // (14)

prakāśayiṣye sattvānāṃ yathāśayaviśeṣataḥ /
aśeṣakleśanāśāya aśeṣājñānahānaye // (15)

evam adhyeṣya guhyendro vajrapāṇis tathāgataṃ /
kṛtāñjalipuṭo bhūtvā prahvakāyasthito 'grataḥ // (16)

adhyeṣaṇāgāthāḥ ṣoḍaśa //

atha śākyamunir bhagavāṃ saṃbuddho dvipadottamaḥ /
nirṇamayyâyatāṃ sphītāṃ svajihvāṃ svamukhāc chubhāṃ // (17)

smitaṃ saṃdarśya lokānām apāyatrayaśodhanaṃ /
trailokyābhāsakaraṇaṃ caturmārāriśāsanaṃ // (18)

v. 6: A nātha saṃbuddhoḥ, tathāgataḥ.

v. 7: Y, Minaev me 'nukampāya. Y ma vibho. M mya vibho. K, Minaev he vibho. Bi -sambodhir. Quad -sambodha. Vira -sambodhiṃ. Mukherji lābhi.

v. 8: A -cetasāḥ.

v. 9: Mukherji prakāśayaṃtu. A, bhāhāsamaya- (Mukherji notes that A uses bhāhā for mahā elsewhere as well). Bi (Mukherji alone reporting) -tattvajñā.

v. 10: Minaev bhagavaṃ. Mukherji bhagavān. All Tibetan trans. bcom ldan 'das kyi ye śes sku. A mūrti.

v. 12: A sambuddhaiḥ yā.

v. 13: Mukherji, Vira māyājāle mahā-. A māyājālamahātantrai. A ammayar mantra-.

v. 14: Vira, ā niryāṇaṃ. Mukherji aniryāṇaṃ. Bi (Minaev alone reporting), Y ā niryāṇāṃ. A niryānāñ ca. Ne niryāṇaṃ ca. A bhagavāṃmyahaṃ.

v. 15: A prakāsayaṣya, aśeṣakleso noya, aśeṣo jñāna-.

v. 16: Bi (Mukherji alone reporting) guhendro. Vira, Mukherji -kāyaḥ sthito.

Division title: A, M adhyeṣaṇājñānagāthāḥ. Vira adhyeṣaṇa-.

v. 17: A nirṇamaryāyatā sphītā. Bi (Mukherji alone reporting) svamukhāṃ cchubhāṃ.

v. 18: Vira, A -kyabhāsa-. A -karañca-.

trilokam āpūrayantyā brāhmyā madhurayā girā /
pratyabhāṣata guhyendraṃ vajrapāṇiṃ mahābalaṃ // (19)

sādhu vajradharaḥ śrīmāṃ sādhu te vajrapāṇaye /
yas tvaṃ jagaddhitārthāya mahākaruṇayânvitaḥ // (20)

mahārthāṃ nāmasaṃgītiṃ pavitrām aghanāśanīṃ /
mañjuśrījñānakāyasya mattaḥ śrotuṃ samudyataḥ // (21)

tat sādhu deśayāmy eṣa ahaṃ te guhyakādhipaḥ /
śṛṇu tvam ekāgramanās tat sādhu bhagavann iti // (22)

prativacanagāthāḥ ṣaṭ //

atha śākyamunir bhagavāṃ savakalaṃ mantrakulaṃ mahat /
mantravidyādharakulaṃ vyavalokya kulatrayaṃ // (23)

lokalokottarakulaṃ lokālokakulaṃ mahat /
mahāmudrākulaṃ câgryaṃ mahoṣṇīṣakulaṃ mahat // (24)

ṣaṭkulāvalokanagāthe dve //

imāṃ ṣaḍmantrarājānaṃ saṃyuktām advayodayāṃ /
anutpādadharmiṇīṃ gāthāṃ bhāṣate sma girāṃ pateḥ // (25)

a ā i ī u ū e ai o au aṃ aḥ sthito hṛdi /
jñānamūrtir ahaṃ buddho buddhānāṃ tryadhvavartināṃ // (26)

oṃ vajratīkṣṇaduḥkhacchedaprajñājñānamūrtaye /
jñānakāyavāgīśvaraarapacanāya te namaḥ // (27)

māyājālābhisaṃbodhikramagāthās tisraḥ //

tadyathā bhagavāṃ buddhaḥ saṃbuddho 'kārasaṃbhavaḥ /
akāraḥ sarvavarṇāgryo mahārthaḥ paramākṣaraḥ // (28)

v. 19: M, Ne trailokyam. A brahma madhuryāṃ girāṃ. Ne guhyendro. Mukherji -endravajra-. Ne vajrapāṇir. Ne, A mahābalaḥ.

v. 20: Vira, Ne, M, Minaev vajradhara. Vira (emendation) śrīman. Note the use of the nom. for voc. Implied and listed as v. l. (māṇavaḥ), but not stated by Edgerton, BHSD p. 50 (8.27-28). Mukherji jagaddhitāya.

v. 21: Ne -nāśinīṃ. A mantraḥ (for mattaḥ). M matta.

v. 22: Bi (Mukherji alone reporting) bhagavān (deletes iti). A bhagavāṃniti.

v. 23: Ne, A sakalamantra-. Mukherji reads mahat beginning 23c instead of ending 23b. A -vidyādharaṃ. M devaloke (for vyavalokya).

v. 24: Ne lokālok-. A câgraṃ.

Division title: Bi (Mukherji alone reporting) -kulavāloka-.

v. 25: Minaev -rājanasaṃyu-. Mukherji, Bi rājānaḥ. Bi, Mukherji, Ne bhāṣante (our reading verified by MM 174.5.5).

v. 26: Minaev v. l. (? from which ms.) hṛdayarahaṃbuddho.

v. 27: Bi (Mukherji alone reporting) arapacanaya. A arapaṃcanāya. Although our reading is highly irregular, the commentators agree that the second part of the mantra in 27cd is to be taken as one compound in the dative sing. just as the preceding part of the mantra. cf. MM 174.5.5, VM 239.1.2 and 238.4.4, and VV 190.4.6ff., the Tibetan trans of the mantra, Mukherji p. 18, and Mañjuśrīmitra's *Upadeśa* (Appendix). Doubtless the form was accepted due to its similarity to other BHS compounds of the same variety, eg. *mahārddhi*.

Division title: A -saṃbodhiś cakragāthāḥ.

v. 28: A sambuddhakālasaṃ-, akālaḥ. Bi mohārthaḥ.

mahāprāṇo hy anutpādo vāgudāhāravarjitaḥ /
sarvābhilāpahetvagryaḥ sarvavāksuprabhāsvaraḥ // (29)

mahāmahamahārāgaḥ sarvasattvaratiṃkaraḥ /
mahāmahamahādveṣaḥ sarvakleśamahāripuḥ // (30)

mahāmahamahāmoho mūḍhadhīmohasūdanaḥ /
mahāmahamahākrodho mahākrodharipur mahān // (31)

mahāmahamahālobhaḥ sarvalobhanisūdanaḥ /
mahākāmo mahāsaukhyo mahāmodo mahāratiḥ // (32)

mahārūpo mahākāyo mahāvarṇṇo mahāvapuḥ /
mahānāmā mahodāro mahāvipulamaṇḍalaḥ // (33)

mahāprajñāyudhadharo mahākleśāṅkuśo 'graṇīḥ /
mahāyaśā mahākīrttir mahājyotir mahādyutiḥ // (34)

mahāmāyādharo vidvān mahāmāyārthasādhakaḥ /
mahāmāyāratirato mahāmāyendrajālikaḥ // (35)

mahādānapatiḥ śreṣṭho mahāśīladharo 'graṇīḥ /
mahākṣāntidharo dhīro mahāvīryaparākramaḥ // (36)

mahādhyānasamādhistho mahāprajñāśarīradhṛk /
mahābalo mahopāyaḥ praṇidhijñānasāgaraḥ // (37)

mahāmaitrīmayo 'meyo mahākāruṇiko 'gradhīḥ /
mahāprājño mahādhīmāṃ mahopāyo mahākṛtiḥ // (38)

mahārddhibalopeto mahāvego mahājavaḥ /
maharddhiko maheśākhyo mahābalaparākramaḥ // (39)

mahābhavādrisaṃbhettā mahāvajradharo ghanaḥ /
mahākrūro mahāraudro mahābhayabhayaṃkaraḥ // (40)

mahāvidyottamo nātho mahāmantrottamo guruḥ /
mahāyānanayārūḍho mahāyānanayottamaḥ // (41)

vajradhātumahāmaṇḍalagāthāś caturdaśa //

mahāvairocano buddho mahāmaunī mahāmuniḥ /
mahāmantranayodbhūto mahāmantranayātmakaḥ // (42)

daśapāramitāprāpto daśapāramitāśrayaḥ /
daśapāramitāśuddhir daśapāramitānayaḥ // (43)

v. 29: Bi (Mukherji alone reporting) mahāpraṇo. Mukherji, Bi subhāsvaraḥ.
v. 30: Ne ratikaraḥ. A mahāmāhā- (30c).
v. 31: Mukherji, Bi mūḍhadhīr. A -sūndanaḥ.
v. 32: Vira -niṣūdanaḥ. Minaev mahāmoho, but all Tibetan trans. dga' ba chen po.
v. 33: Bi mahāvasuḥ (33b).
v. 34: Bi (Mukherji alone reporting) -prajñāyudharo.
v. 35: Minaev -endrijālikaḥ.
v. 36: Y vīro (for dhīro, 36c).
v. 37: Vira praṇidhir jñāna-.
v. 38: Vira, Mukherji mahāprajño. A māhāprājñā (cf. v. 117). Vira kṛtī.
v. 39: A māhārddhi- (39a). Vira, Bi mahardhiko (39c).
Division title: Y -maṇḍalajñānagāthāś. Ne -dhātumaṇḍala-.
v. 42: Vira -nayodbhato (misprint).

daśabhūmīśvaro nātho daśabhūmipratiṣṭitaḥ /
daśajñānaviśuddhātmā daśajñānaviśuddhadhṛk // (44)

daśākāro daśārthārtho munīndro daśabalo vibhuḥ /
aśeṣaviśvārthakaro daśākāravaśī mahān // (45)

anādir niṣprapañcātmā śuddhātmā tathatātmakaḥ /
bhūtavādī yathāvādī tathākārī ananyavāk // (46)

advayo 'dvayavādī ca bhūtakoṭivyavasthitaḥ /
nairātmyasiṃhanirnādaḥ kutīrthyamṛgabhīkaraḥ // (47)

savatrago 'moghagatis tathāgatamanojavaḥ /
jino jitārir vijayī cakravartī mahābalaḥ // (48)

gaṇamukhyo gaṇācāryo gaṇeśo gaṇapatir vaśī /
mahānubhāvo dhaureyo 'nanyaneyo mahānayaḥ // (49)

vāgīśo vākpatir vāgmī vācaspatir anantagīḥ /
satyavāk satyavādī ca catuḥsatyopadeśakaḥ // (50)

avaivarttiko hy anāgāmī khaḍgaḥ pratyekanāyakaḥ /
nānāniryāṇaniryāto mahābhūtaikakāraṇaḥ // (51)

arhan kṣīṇāsravo bhikṣur vītarāgo jitendriyaḥ /
kṣemaprāpto 'bhayaprāptaḥ śītībhūto hy anāvilaḥ // (52)

vidyācaraṇasaṃpannaḥ sugato lokavit paraḥ /
nirmamo nirahaṃkāraḥ satyadvayanaye sthitaḥ // (53)

saṃsārapārakoṭisthaḥ kṛtakṛtyaḥ sthale sthitaḥ /
kaivalyajñānaniṣṭhyūtaḥ prajñāśastro vidāraṇaḥ // (54)

saddharmo dharmarāḍ bhāsvāṃ lokālokakaraḥ paraḥ /
dharmeśvaro dharmarājā śreyomārgopadeśakaḥ // (55)

siddhārthaḥ siddhasaṃkalpaḥ sarvasaṃkalpavarjitaḥ /
nirvikalpo 'ksayo dhātur dharmadhātuḥ paro 'vyayaḥ // (56)

puṇyavān puṇyasaṃbhāro jñānaṃ jñānākaraṃ mahat /
jñānavān sadasajjñānī saṃbhāradvayasaṃbhṛtaḥ // (57)

v. 45: Y, Mukherji daśākāro vaśī. Quad daśākaro vaśī. Bi (Vira alone reporting) daśākāro vaśīr. Tib. rnam bcu dbaṅ ldan.

v. 46: Mukherji anādiniṣ-. Quad, Bi, A tathātātmakaḥ. A anaṃnyavāk. Bi (Mukherji alone reporting) anavyavāk.

v. 47: Minaev, K ninādī. Bi (Minaev alone reporting), Y ninādaḥ. Could these be misreadings by Minaev, nirnāda not occurring in Skt? Ne nirnādī. vide BHSD p. 301. Mukherji, Ne kutīrtha-.

v. 49: M gaṇeśvara (for gaṇeśo, 49b). Bi (Mukherji alone reporting), A dhaurayo.

v. 51: Minaev -niryoto (51c).

v. 52: A -āśravo.

v. 53: A vidyāścaraṇa-. A, Ne -nayasthitaḥ.

v. 54: Minaev -koṭiṣṭhaḥ. Ne sthalasthitaḥ. A -niṣṭhūta. Mukherji -śastravidāraṇaḥ.

v. 55: Mukherji, Vira bhāsvāṃl. Bi (Mukherji alone reporting) bhāsvāllokā-. Vira dharmarājaḥ.

v. 56: Bi, Quad, Mukherji dharmadhātuparo.

v. 57: K jñānottaraṃ (57b). Ne jñānāntaraṃ. Minaev, Quad jñānākaro. Y mahām (57b). Quad mahān. Bi (Mukherji alone reporting) -sambṛtaḥ.

śāśvato viśvarāḍ yogī dhyānaṃ dhyeyo dhiyāṃ patiḥ /
pratyātmavedyo hy acalaḥ paramādyas trikāyadhṛk // (58)

pañcakāyātmako buddhaḥ pañcajñānātmako vibhuḥ /
pañcabuddhātmamakuṭaḥ pañcacakṣur asaṅgadhṛk // (59)

janakaḥ sarvabuddhānāṃ buddhaputraḥ paro varaḥ /
prajñābhavodbhavo 'yonir dharmayonir bhavāntakṛt // (60)

ghanaikasāro vajrātmā sadyojāto jagatpatiḥ /
gaganodbhavaḥ svayaṃbhūḥ prajñājñānānalo mahān // (61)

vairocano mahādīptir jñānajyotir virocanaḥ /
jagatpradīpo jñānolko mahātejāḥ prabhāsvaraḥ // (62)

vidyārājo 'gramantreśo mantrarājā mahārthakṛt /
mahoṣṇīṣo 'dbhutoṣṇīṣo viśvadarśī viyatpatiḥ // (63)

sarvabuddhātmabhāvāgryo jagadānandalocanaḥ /
viśvarūpī vidhātā ca pūjyo mānyo mahārṣiḥ // (64)

kulatrayadharo mantrī mahāsamayamantradhṛk /
ratnatrayadharaḥ śreṣṭhas triyānottamadeśakaḥ // (65)

amoghapāśo vijayī vajrapāśo mahāgrahaḥ /
vajrāṅkuśo mahāpāśo

suviśuddhadharmadhātujñānagāthāḥ pādonapañcaviṃśatiḥ //

vajrabhairavabhīkaraḥ // (66)

krodharāṭ ṣaṇmukho bhīmaḥ ṣaḍnetraḥ ṣaḍbhujo balī /
daṃṣṭrākarālakaṅkālo halāhalaśatānanaḥ // (67)

yamāntako vighnarāḍ vajravego bhayaṃkaraḥ /
vighuṣṭavajro hṛdvajro māyāvajro mahodaraḥ // (68)

kuliśeśo vajrayonir vajramaṇḍo nabhopamaḥ /
acalaikajaṭāṭopo gajacarmapaṭārdradhṛk // (69)

hāhākāro mahāghoro hīhīkāro bhayānakaḥ /
aṭṭahāso mahāhāso vajrahāso mahāravaḥ // (70)

vajrasattvo mahāsattvo vajrarājo mahāsukhaḥ
vajracaṇḍo mahāmodo vajrahūṃkārahūṃkṛtiḥ // (71)

v. 58: Minaev śāsvato A viśvaro. Bi (Mukherji alone reporting) paramādyā-.
v. 59: Y, Quad mukuṭaḥ.
v. 60: Bi buddhaputraparo. Minaev yonir. Bi (Mukherji alone reporting) bhavantakṛt.
v. 61: Y sadyājāto. Mukherji -odbhavasva-.
v. 62: A jñānajotilkā (for jñānolko).
v. 63: Vira, Mukherji mantrarājo. Minaev mahoṣṇīṣodbhūto-.
v. 64: A -rocanaḥ (for -locanaḥ). Ne viśvarūpo.
v. 65: Bi mantramahā-. Y ratnatrayādharaḥ.
v. 66: Minaev, A place 66d before the division title.
Division title: Minaev, A omit pādona-.
v. 67: Ne halāhalaḥ. Quad hālāhala-.
v. 68: A, Vira vighnarājo. M -narāja. Quad -naraṭ. Bi -nanarāṭ Mukherji -narāṭ.
v. 69: Quad acalo hy ekajaṭāṭopo.
v. 70: Bi, Mukherji hīhīkārabhayānakaḥ. Minaev aṭṭāhāso.

vajrabāṇāyudhadharo vajrakhaḍgo nikṛntanaḥ /
viśvavajradharo vajrī ekavajrī raṇaṃjahaḥ // (72)

vajrajvālākarālākṣo vajrajvālāśiroruhaḥ /
vajrāveśo mahāveśaḥ śatākṣo vajralocanaḥ // (73)

vajraromāṅkuratanur vajraromaikavigrahaḥ /
vajrakoṭinakhārambho vajrasāraghanacchaviḥ // (74)

vajramālādharaḥ śrīmāṃ vajrābharaṇabhūṣitaḥ /
hāhāṭṭahāso nirghoṣo vajraghoṣaḥ ṣaḍakṣaraḥ // (75)

7añjughoṣo mahānādas trailokyaikaravo mahān /
ākāśadhātuparyanto ghoṣo ghoṣavatāṃ varaḥ // (76)

ādarśajñānagāthāḥ pādonasārddhadaśa //

tathatābhūtanairātmyaṃ bhūtakoṭir anakṣaraḥ /
śūnyatāvādivṛṣabho gambhīrodāragarjanaḥ // (77)

dharmaśaṅkho mahāśabdo dharmagaṇḍī mahāraṇaḥ /
apratiṣṭhitanirvāṇo daśadigdharmadundubhiḥ // (78)

arūpo rūpavān agryo nānārūpo manomayaḥ /
sarvarūpāvabhāsaśrīr aśeṣapratibimbadhṛk // (79)

apradhṛṣyo maheśākhyas traidhātukamaheśvaraḥ /
samucchritāryamārgastho dharmaketur mahodayaḥ // (80)

trailokyaikakumārāṅgaḥ sthaviro vṛddhaḥ prajāpatiḥ /
dvātriṃśallakṣaṇadharaḥ kāntas trailokyasundaraḥ // (81)

lokajñānaguṇācāryo lokācāryo viśāradaḥ /
nāthas trātā trilokāptaḥ śaraṇaṃ tāyī niruttaraḥ // (82)

gaganābhogasaṃbhogaḥ sarvajñajñānasāgaraḥ /
avidyāṇḍakośasaṃbhettā bhavapañjaradāraṇaḥ // (83)

śamitāśeṣasaṃkleśaḥ saṃsārārṇavapāragaḥ /
jñānābhiṣekamakuṭaḥ samyaksaṃbuddhabhūṣaṇaḥ // (84)

triduḥkhaduḥkhaśamanas tryanto 'nantas trimuktigaḥ /
sarvāvaraṇanirmukta ākāśasamatāṃgataḥ // (85)

v. 72: Minaev, Mukherji vajravāṇā-. Tib. rdo rje mda'.
v. 73: Mukherji, Ne vajraveśo. A -rocanaḥ (for locanaḥ).
v. 74: Vira -romāṅkara- (misprint). Ne vajralomaika- (74b). A vajrakoṭir.
v. 75: Y, Quad -bharaṇabhūṣaṇaḥ.
v. 76: Ne -paryantaghoṣo. Mukherji paraḥ (76d). Bi (Mukherji alone reporting) parāḥ.
Division title: Minaev -jñānastutigāthā daśa. Mukherji, Bi pādonadaśa.
v. 77: Mukherji, Vira -nairātmyo. Bi (Vira alone reporting), Quad -nairātmyabhū-. Minaev -vādī vṛṣabho.
v. 80: A -āryamānastho.
v. 83: Bi gaganabho-. Ne -koṣabhettā. Vira, Mukherji -āṇḍakoṣa-.
v. 84: Ne -ṣekamukuṭaḥ.

sarvakleśamalātītas tryadhvānadhvagatiṃgataḥ /
sarvasattvamahānāgo guṇaśekharaśekharaḥ // (86)

sarvopadhivinirmukto vyomavartmani susthitaḥ /
mahācintāmaṇidharaḥ sarvaratnottamo vibhuḥ // (87)

mahākalpataruḥ sphīto mahābhadraghaṭottamaḥ /
sarvasattvārthakṛt kartā hitaiṣī sattvavatsalaḥ // (88)

śubhāśubhajñaḥ kālajñaḥ samayajñaḥ samayī vibhuḥ /
sattvendriyajño velajño vimuktitrayakovidaḥ // (89)

guṇī guṇajño dharmajñaḥ praśasto maṅgalodayaḥ /
sarvamaṅgalamāṅgalyaḥ kīrttir lakṣmīr yaśaḥ śubhaḥ // (90)

mahotsavo mahāśvāso mahānando mahāratiḥ /
satkāraḥ satkṛtir bhūtiḥ pramodaḥ śrīr yaśaspatiḥ // (91)

vareṇyo varadaḥ śreṣṭhaḥ śaraṇyaḥ śaraṇottamaḥ /
mahābhayāriḥ pravaro niḥśeṣabhayanāśanaḥ // (92)

śikhī śikhaṇḍī jaṭilo jaṭī mauṇḍī kirīṭimān /
pañcānanaḥ pañcaśikhaḥ pañcacīrakaśekharaḥ // (93)

mahāvratadharo mauñjī brahmacārī vratottamaḥ /
mahātapās taponiṣṭhaḥ snātako gautamo 'graṇīḥ // (94)

brahmavid brāhmaṇo brahmā brahmanirvāṇam āptavān /
muktir mokṣo vimokṣāṅgo vimuktiḥ śāntatā śivaḥ // (95)

nirvāṇaṃ nirvṛtiḥ śāntiḥ śreyo niryāṇam antakaḥ /
sukhaduḥkhāntakṛn niṣṭhā vairāgyam upadhikṣayaḥ // (96)

ajayo 'nupamo 'vyakto nirābhāso nirañjanaḥ /
niṣkalaḥ sarvago vyāpī sūkṣmo bījam anāsravaḥ // (97)

arajo virajo vimalo vāntadoṣo nirāmayaḥ /
suprabuddho vibuddhātmā sarvajñaḥ sarvavit paraḥ // (98)

vijñānadharmatātīto jñānam advayarūpadhṛk /
nirvikalpo nirābhogas tryadhvasaṃbuddhakāryakṛt // (99)

v. 86: A sarvasatvo. Bi guṇaśekharaḥ.
v. 89: Bi vimuktis tra-.
v. 90: Minaev kīrtilakṣmīr.
v. 92: Vira, Bi, Quad, Ne varaṇyo. A vaṭa (for varadaḥ). Bi (Mukherji alone reporting) śaraṇottayaḥ. Bi, A, B, Mukherji, Quad, Vira -bhayāripravaro, but all Tib. trans. 'jigs chen dgra ste rab kyi mchog / except bLo gros brtan pa who follows the reading of Bi et al. rab mchog 'jigs pa chen pa'i dgra /.
v. 93: A pañcaśikhiḥ.
v. 94: Mukherji mauṇḍī, an emendation based on an error in the Tib. whereas all our commentators support the reading of the mss. cf. MM 180.2.3-7.
v. 95: Minaev muktimokṣo.
v. 96: Bi (Mukherji alone reporting) nivṛtiḥ. Ne antagaḥ (96b).
v. 97: A niranvayaḥ (for nirañjanaḥ). Bi, Mukherji anāśravaḥ.
v. 98: Y supratibuddho.
v. 99: A -buddhakāyadhṛk.

anādinidhano buddha ādibuddho niranvayaḥ /
jñānaikacakṣur amalo jñānamūrtis tathāgataḥ // (100)

vāgīśvaro mahāvādī vādirāḍ vādipuṃgavaḥ /
vadatāṃ varo variṣṭho vādisiṃho 'parājitaḥ // (101)

samantadarśī prāmodyas tejomālī sudarśanaḥ /
śrīvatsaḥ suprabho dīptir bhā bhāsurakaradyutiḥ // (102)

mahābhiṣagvaraḥ śreṣṭhaḥ śalyahartā niruttaraḥ /
aśeṣabhaiṣajyataruḥ kleśavyādhimahāripuḥ // (103)

trailokyatilakaḥ kāntaḥ śrīmāṃ nakṣatramaṇḍalaḥ /
daśadigvyomaparyanto dharmadhvajamahocchrayaḥ // (104)

jagacchatraikavipulo maitrīkaruṇāmaṇḍalaḥ /
padmanartteśvaraḥ śrīmāṃ ratnacchatro mahāvibhuḥ // (105)

sarvabuddhamahārājā sarvabuddhātmabhāvadhṛk /
sarvabuddhamahāyogaḥ sarvabuddhaikaśāsanaḥ // (106)

vajraratnābhiṣekaśrīḥ sarvaratnādhipeśvaraḥ /
sarvalokeśvarapatiḥ sarvavajradharādhipaḥ // (107)

sarvabuddhamahācittaḥ sarvabuddhamanogatiḥ /
sarvabuddhamahākāyaḥ sarvabuddhasarasvatiḥ // (108)

vajrasūryo mahāloko vajrenduvimalaprabhaḥ /
virāgādimahārāgo viśvavarṇojjvalaprabhaḥ // (109)

saṃbuddhavajraparyaṅko buddhasaṃgītidharmadhṛk /
buddhapadmodbhavaḥ śrīmām sarvajñajñānakośadhṛk // (110)

viśvamāyādharo rājā buddhavidyādharo mahān /
vajratīkṣṇo mahākhaḍgo viśuddhaḥ paramākṣaraḥ // (111)

duḥkhacchedamahāyāno vajradharmamahāyudhaḥ /
jinajig vajragāmbhīryo vajrabuddhir yathārthavit // (112)

sarvapāramitāpūrī sarvabhūmivibhūṣaṇaḥ /
viśuddhadharmanairātmyaṃ samyagjñānenduhṛtprabhaḥ // (113)

v. 100: Bi (Mukherji alone reporting) nirandhayaḥ.
v. 101: A vādirājavādi-, variśreṣṭhaḥ (for variṣṭho).
v. 102: Vira, Mukherji pramodyas. Minaev, A bhābhāsvara-.
v. 104: Mukherji -dhvajo. Vira, Bi -dhvajā-. A dhoja.
v. 105: Bi (Mukherji alone reporting) -karuṇya-. Vira, B -karuṇa-.
v. 106: Mukherji, A, B, Bi, Vira, Ne -mahārājaḥ. Bi -bhavadhṛk.
v. 107: Vira -ādhipaśvaraḥ (misprint).
v. 108: Mukherji, A -sarasvatī. Ne -sarasvatīḥ.
v. 109: Minaev -varṇo jvala-. Tib. kha dog sna tshogs 'bar ba'i 'od.
v. 110: Mukherji, Vira, M -jñānakośadhṛk.
v. 112: Minaev, Vira, Bi -mahāyānavajra-, division of pādas confirmed by MM, VM, SV but VV reads with Bi et al. A, B -gāmbhīryavajra-. Bi (Mukherji alone reporting) gambhīryo.
v. 113: Vira (emendation) -nairātmyaḥ. Mukherji, Bi, Quad, Ne -nairātmyasamyag-. Mukherji -jñānenhu- (misprint).

māyājālamahodyogaḥ sarvatantrādhipaḥ paraḥ /
aśeṣavajraparyaṅko niḥśeṣajñānakāyadhṛk // (114)

samantabhadraḥ sumatiḥ kṣitigarbho jagaddhṛtiḥ /
sarvabuddhamahāgarbho viśvanirmāṇacakradhṛk // (115)

sarvabhāvasvabhāvāgryaḥ sarvabhāvasvabhāvadhṛk /
anutpādadharmā viśvārthaḥ sarvadharmasvabhāvadhṛk // (116)

ekakṣaṇamahāprājñaḥ sarvadharmāvabodhadhṛk /
sarvadharmābhisamayo bhūtāntamunir agradhīḥ // (117)

stimitaḥ suprasannātmā samyaksaṃbuddhabodhidhṛk /
pratyakṣaḥ sarvabuddhānāṃ jñānārciḥ suprabhāsvaraḥ // (118)

pratyavekṣaṇājñānagāthā dvācatvāriṃśat //

iṣṭārthasādhakaḥ paraḥ sarvāpāyaviśodhakaḥ /
sarvasattvottamo nāthaḥ sarvasattvapramocakaḥ // (119)

kleśasaṃgrāmaśūraikaḥ ajñānaripudarpahā /
dhīḥ śṛṅgāradharaḥ śrīmān vīrabībhatsarūpadhṛk // (120)

bāhudaṇḍaśatākṣepaḥ padanikṣepanarttanaḥ /
śrīmacchatabhujābhogo gaganābhoganarttanaḥ // (121)

ekapādatalākrāntamahīmaṇḍatale sthitaḥ /
brahmāṇḍaśikharākrāntapādāṅguṣṭhanakhe sthitaḥ // (122)

ekārtho 'dvayadharmārthaḥ paramārtho 'vinaśvaraḥ /
nānāvijñaptirūpārthaś cittavijñānasantatiḥ // (123)

aśeṣabhāvārtharatiḥ śūnyatāratir agradhīḥ /
bhavarāgādyatītaś ca bhavatrayamahāratiḥ // (124)

śuddhaśubhrābhradhavalaḥ śaraccandrāṃśusuprabhaḥ /
bālārkamaṇḍalacchāyo mahārāganakhaprabhaḥ // (125)

indranīlāgrasaccīro mahānīlakacāgradhṛk /
mahāmaṇimayūkhaśrīr buddhanirmāṇabhūṣaṇaḥ // (126)

lokadhātuśatākampī ṛddhipādamahākramaḥ /
mahāsmṛtidharas tattvaś catuḥsmṛtisamādhirāṭ // (127)

v. 116: A, B, Minaev -dharmaviśvārthaḥ.

v. 117: Mukherji -āvarodhadhṛk (misprint?). Tib. chos kun khon du chud pa 'chaṅ. Bi (Mukherji alone reporting) agrādhī.

Division title: Vira, Mukherji -vekṣaṇajñā-. B dvāścatvā-. Bi (Mukherji alone reporting) -riṃśata.

v. 119: Bi, Mukherji iṣṭārthaḥ. Bi (Mukherji alone reporting) sarvāpaya-.

v. 120: Bi nojñānā-. Y -darpahaḥ. Mukherji dhīśṛṅgā-. Mukherji emends to vīraḥ bībha-. Minaev -rupadhṛk.

v. 121: Minaev, Ne -ākṣepapada-. Y -kṣepanartapaḥ. Bi (Mukherji alone reporting) śrīmācch-. Ne -ābhogagaganā-.

v. 122: Mukherji -talākrānto. Vira -maṇḍala-, supported by Tib. trans. but not by our commentators. Bi, Mukherji -śikharākrāntaḥ. B -śikharākrāntāpā-.

v. 123: Bi (Vira alone reporting), Quad vineśvara.

v. 124: Mukherji -ratigradhīḥ.

v. 125: Minaev śuddhaḥ. Bi buddha- (for śuddha-). Vira -dhavalaśa-.

bodhyaṃgakusumāmodas tathāgataguṇodadhiḥ /
aṣṭāṅgamārganayavit samyaksaṃbuddhamārgavit // (128)

sarvasattvamahāsaṅgo niḥsaṅgo gaganopamaḥ /
sarvasattvamanojātaḥ sarvasattvamanojavaḥ // (129)

sarvasattvendriyārthajñaḥ sarvasattvamanoharaḥ /
pañcaskandhārthatattvajñaḥ pañcaskandhaviśuddhadhṛk // (130)

sarvaniryāṇakoṭisthaḥ sarvaniryāṇakovidaḥ /
sarvaniryāṇamārgasthaḥ sarvaniryāṇadeśakaḥ // (131)

dvādaśāṅgabhavotkhāto dvādaśākāraśuddhadhṛk /
catuḥsatyanayākāro aṣṭajñānāvabodhadhṛk // (132)

dvādaśākārasatyārthaḥ ṣoḍaśākāratattvavit /
viṃśatyākārasaṃbodhir vibuddhaḥ sarvavit paraḥ // (133)

~~ameyabuddhanirmāṇakāyakoṭivibhāvakaḥ /~~
sarvakṣaṇābhisamayaḥ sarvacittakṣaṇārthavit // (134)

nānāyānanayopāyajagadarthavibhāvakaḥ /
yānatritayaniryāta ekayānaphale sthitaḥ // (135)

kleśadhātuviśuddhātmā karmadhātukṣayaṃkaraḥ /
oghodadhisamuttīrṇo yogakāntāraniḥsṛtaḥ // (136)

kleśopakleśasaṃkleśasuprahīṇasavāsanaḥ /
prajñopāyamahākaruṇā amoghajagadarthakṛt // (137)

sarvasaṃjñāprahīṇārtho vijñānārtho nirodhadhṛk /
sarvasattvamanoviṣayaḥ sarvasattvamanogatiḥ // (138)

sarvasattvamano'ntasthas taccittasamatāṃgataḥ /
sarvasattvamanohlādī sarvasattvamanoratiḥ // (139)

siddhānto vibhramāpetaḥ sarvabhrāntivivarjitaḥ /
niḥsandigdhamatis tryarthaḥ sarvārthas triguṇātmakaḥ // (140)

pañcaskandhārthas triṣkālaḥ sarvakṣaṇavibhāvakaḥ /
ekakṣaṇābhisaṃbuddhaḥ sarvabuddhasvabhāvadhṛk // (141)

anaṅgakāyaḥ kāyāgryaḥ kāyakoṭivibhāvakaḥ /
aśeṣarūpasaṃdarśī ratnaketur mahāmaṇiḥ // (142)

v. 128: Bi (Mukherji alone reporting) boddhyā-. Y -odadhīḥ.
v. 129: A -manoyātaḥ.
v. 134: Mukherji, B -nirmāṇaḥ.
v. 136: Bi -viśuddhātmakarma-. Quad yogaḥ. Y nisṛtaḥ.
v. 137: Mukherji -mahākaruṇo amogha-.
v. 138: Bi, Quad, Y prahāṇārtho. Ne sarvabuddhamanogatiḥ.
v. 139: Mukherji 'ntaḥsthas.

v. 140: Vira, Minaev -āntavibhra-. Mukherji -ānto 'vibhramopetaḥ. K, Ne -bhramāpagataḥ. Bi (Vira alone reporting) -bhrāmāpetaḥ. M -bhramāgata. All Tib. trans. verify our reading especially sṅa dar and Rin chen bzaṅ po, grub pa mthar phyin 'phrul pa med. MM, VV, VM, SV concur. Minaev tryadhvaḥ (for tryarthaḥ, Tib. don gsum).

v. 141: Minaev, Mukherji, Vira (all emendations) trikālaḥ. Bi, Quad triskālaḥ. A -ārthatriṣkālaḥ. vide BHSD p. 258.

v. 142: Mukherji, Bi, Quad anaṅgakāyakāyāgraḥ.

samatājñānagāthāś caturviṃśatiḥ //

sarvasaṃbuddhaboddhavyo buddhabodhir anuttaraḥ /
anakṣaro mantrayonir mahāmantrakulatrayaḥ // (143)

sarvamantrārthajanako mahābindur anakṣaraḥ /
pañcākṣaro mahāśūnyo binduśūnyaḥ śatākṣaraḥ // (144)

sarvākāro nirākāraḥ ṣoḍaśārdhārdhabindudṛk /
akalaḥ kalanātītaś caturthadhyānakoṭidhṛk // (145)

sarvadhyānakalābhijñaḥ samādhikulagotravit /
samādhikāyo kāyāgryaḥ sarvasaṃbhogakāyarāṭ // (146)

nirmāṇakāyo kāyāgryo buddhanirmāṇavaṃśadhṛk /
daśadigviśvanirmāṇo yathāvajjagadarthakṛt // (147)

devātidevo devendraḥ surendro dānavādhipaḥ /
amarendraḥ suraguruḥ pramathaḥ pramatheśvaraḥ // (148)

uttīrṇabhavakāntāra ekaḥ śāstā jagadguruḥ /
prakhyāto daśadiglokadharmadānapatir mahān // (149)

maitrīsaṃnāhasaṃnaddhaḥ karuṇāvarmavarmitaḥ /
prajñākhaḍgadhanurbāṇaḥ kleśājñānaraṇaṃjahaḥ // (150)

mārārir mārajid vīraś caturmārabhayāntakṛt /
sarvamāracamūjetā saṃbuddho lokanāyakaḥ // (151)

vandyaḥ pūjyo 'bhivādyaś ca mānanīyaś ca nityaśaḥ /
arcanīyatamo mānyo namasyaḥ paramo guruḥ // (152)

trailokyaikakramagatir vyomaparyantavikramaḥ /
traividyaḥ śrotriyaḥ pūtaḥ ṣaḍabhijñaḥ ṣaḍanusmṛtiḥ // (153)

v. 143: Y -bodhyagryo. Quad -bodhāgryo.

v. 144: Minaev, Mukherji, Vira, VV ṣaḍakṣara. A, Quad are the basis for our reading, verified by the Tib. of Rin chen bzaṅ po, the sṅa dar, MM, VM, and SV, yi ge brgya.

v. 145: Minaev, Ne sarvākāranir-. Mukherji -ārdhhārddha-. Minaev -vindudhṛk.

v. 146: Y -kālābhijñaḥ. Ne -gotradhṛk. Minaev, Mukherji, Vira samādhikāyakāyāgro. Tib. tiṅ 'dzin lus can lus kyi mchog. Reading verified by MM, VV, VM, SV. cf. v. 142a.

v. 147: Minaev, Mukherji, Vira nirmāṇakāyakāyāgro. Tib. sprul pa'i sku ste sku yi mchog. Reading verified by MM, VV, VM, SV. cf. v. 142a.

v. 148: Minaev devātidevoḥ. Ne devendro 'surendro.

v. 149: Bi (Mukherji alone reporting) uttīrṇābhava-. Bi (Vira alone reporting) ekaśāstā. Minaev, Vira prakhyātadaśa-. Mukherji (conjecture based on misunderstanding of Tib.) -loke. Ne loko.

v. 150: Bi (Mukherji alone reporting) -sannahaḥ (for -sannaddhaḥ). M karuṇādharma-. Minaev -vāṇaḥ. Mukherji kleśajñāna-.

v. 153: Minaev vyomāparyanta-, which agrees with all Tib. mkha ltar mtha med and which is supported by VV and VM. MM and SV, though, verify our reading. cf. v. 105c.

bodhisattvo mahāsattvo lokātīto maharddhikaḥ /
prajñāpāramitāniṣṭhaḥ prajñātattvatvam āgataḥ // (154)

ātmavit paravit sarvaḥ sarvīyo hy agrapudgalaḥ /
sarvopamām atikrānto jñeyo jñānādhipaḥ paraḥ // (155)

dharmadānapatiḥ śreṣṭhaś caturmudrārthadeśakaḥ /
paryupāsyatamo jagatāṃ niryāṇatrayayāyinām // (156)

paramārthaviśuddhaśrīs trailokyasubhago mahān /
sarvasampatkaraḥ śrīmān mañjuśrīḥ śrīmatāṃ varaḥ // (157)

kṛtyānuṣṭhānajñānagāthāḥ pañcadaśa //

namas te varada vajrāgrya bhūtakoṭi namo 'stu te /
namas te śūnyatāgarbha buddhabodhi namo 'stu te // (158)

buddharāga namas te 'stu buddhakāma namo namaḥ /
buddhaprīti namas tubhyaṃ buddhamoda namo namaḥ // (159)

buddhasmita namas tubhyaṃ buddhahāsa namo namaḥ /
buddhavāca namas te 'stu buddhabhāva namo namaḥ // (160)

abhavodbhava namas te 'stu namas te buddhasaṃbhava /
gaganodbhava namas tubhyaṃ namas te jñānasaṃbhava // (161)

māyājāla namas tubhyaṃ namas te buddhanāṭaka /
namas te sarva sarvebhyo jñānakāya namo 'stu te // (162)

iti pañcatathāgatajñānastutigāthāḥ pañca //

iyam asau vajrapāṇe vajradhara bhagavato jñānamūrteḥ[1] sarvatathāgatajñānakāyasya mañjuśrījñānasattvasyâveṇikapariśuddhā nāmasaṃgītiḥ / tavânuttaraprītiprasādamahaudbilyasaṃjananārthaṃ[2] kāyavāṅmanoguhyapariśuddhyai[3] / aparipūrṇāpariśuddhabhūmipāramitāpuṇyajñānasaṃbhāraparipūripariśuddhyai[4] / anadhigatānuttarārthasyâdhigamāya / aprāptasya prāptyai / yāvat sarvatathāgatasaddharmanetrīsaṃdhāraṇārthaṃ[5] ca mayā deśitā saṃprakāśitā ca vivṛttā[6] vibhajitôttānīkṛtā adhiṣṭhitā cêyaṃ[7] mayā vajrapāṇe vajradhara tava saṃtāne sarvamantradharmatādhiṣṭhānenêti //

v. 154: Vira mahardhikaḥ.
v. 155: Bi sārvīyo. Mukherji agrapuṅgalaḥ (misprint).
Division title: Bi (Vira alone reporting) kṛtyanu-.
v. 158: Quad, Minaev vajrāgra.
v. 159: Ne, Minaev buddhakāya (for -kāma).
v. 160: Minaev -bhāsa (for -hāsa). Mukherji (emendation) buddhavāk. Ne namas tubhyaṃ (160c).
v. 161: Y, A abhāvod-. Ne namas tubhyaṃ (161a).
Division title: Vira, Mukherji -jñānagāthāḥ. Ne -tathāgatastutigāthāḥ. B -jñānagāthāstutiḥ.
First cakra:
[1] Mukherji jñānamūrtteḥ.
[2] Mukherji -pramoda- (for -prasāda-). P -mahauvigna- (for -mahaudbilya-).
[3] A -guhyadharapari-.
[4] Minaev -parimitā- (misprint?). P omits -pariśuddhyai.
[5] Mukherji -naya- (for -netrī-).
[6] P vivṛtā.
[7] Mukherji iyaṃ.

prathamacakrasyêyam anuśaṃsā tatpadāny ekādaśa //

punar aparaṃ[1] vajrapāṇe vajradhara iyaṃ nāmasaṃgītiḥ suviśuddhaparyavadātasarvajñajñānakāyavāṅmanoguhyabhūtā[2] / sarvatathāgatānāṃ buddhabodhiḥ / samyaksaṃbuddhānām abhisamayaḥ / sarvatathāgatānām anuttaraḥ[3] / dharmadhātugatiḥ sarvasugatānāṃ[4] / sarvamārabalaparājayo jinānāṃ / daśabalabalitā[5] sarvadaśabalānāṃ / sarvajñatā sarvajñasya jñānānāṃ[6] / āgamaḥ sarvabuddhadharmāṇāṃ[7] / samudāgamaḥ[8] sarvabuddhānāṃ / vimalasupariśuddhapuṇyajñānasaṃbhāraparipūriḥ[9] sarvamahābodhisattvānāṃ[10] / prasūtiḥ sarvaśrāvakapratyekabuddhānāṃ[11] / kṣetraṃ sarvadevamanuṣyasaṃpatteḥ[12] / pratiṣṭhā mahāyānasya / saṃbhavo bodhisattvacaryāyāḥ / niṣṭhā samyagāryamārgasya / nikaṣo[13] vimuktīnāṃ[14] / utpattir niryāṇamārgasya[15] / anucchedas tathāgatavaṃśasya / pravṛddhir mahābodhisattvakulagotrasya[16] / nigrahaḥ sarvaparapravādināṃ / vidhvaṃsanaṃ sarvatīrthikānāṃ / parājayaś caturmārabalacamūsenānāṃ[17] / saṃgrahaḥ sarvasattvānāṃ / āryamārgaparipākaḥ sarvaniryāṇayāyināṃ / samādhiś caturbrahmavihāravihāriṇāṃ[18] / dhyānam ekāgracittānāṃ / yogaḥ kāyavāṅmano'bhiyuktānāṃ / visaṃyogaḥ sarvasaṃyojanānāṃ / prahāṇaṃ sarvakleśopakleśānāṃ / upaśamaḥ[19] sarvāvaraṇānāṃ / vimuktiḥ sarvabandhanānāṃ / mokṣaḥ sarvopadhīnāṃ[20] / śāntiḥ sarvacittopaplavānāṃ / ākaraḥ sarvasaṃpattīnāṃ / parihāṇiḥ sarvavipattīnāṃ[21] /

Second cakra:

[1] Mukherji omits punar.

[2] Mukherji suviśuddhā-. P -pariśu- (? for -paryavadāta-, Minaev's apparatus unclear).

[3] A, Minaev anuttaradharma-. Tib. bla na med pa'o. For anuttara as a masc. noun vide BHSD p. 27.

[4] A, Minaev omits sarva-. Tib. bde bar gśegs pa thams cad.

[5] Mukherji emends to daśabalabhūtā from the Tib. stobs bcu'i stobs su gyur pa'o.

[6] Minaev sarvajñānānāṃ. Tib. thams cad mkhyen pa'i ye śes rnams kyi supports Mukherji's reading.

[7] Tib. omits -buddha- chos thams cad, but VV (222.2.5) includes it, saṅs rgyas kyi chos.

[8] Mukherji emends to samavagamaḥ due to misunderstanding the Tib. yaṅ dag par kun chub pa. vide BHSD p. 572.

[9] Mukherji vimalātiviśuddha-. A -viśuddha-. P -viśuddhi-. Tib. śin tu yoṅs su dag pa. P -pūrī.

[10] Tib. reads sarvabodhisattvamahāsattvānām, byaṅ chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po thams cad kyi, but VV (222.2.7) verifies our reading.

[11] P -buddhasaṃpatteḥ.

[12] Mukherji -manuṣyānām. Tib. reads with Minaev, lha daṅ mi thams cad kyi phun sum tshogs pa'i źiṅ.

[13] Mukherji parīkṣā, Tib. brtag pa, but VV (222.3.5) describes a touchstone.

[14] P omits.

[15] P omits.

[16] Mukherji mahābodhisattvānāṃ kulagotrasya.

[17] Minaev -senāyāḥ, but Tib. sde rnams kyi.

[18] Minaev catarbruhmavihāriṇāṃ.

[19] Minaev vyupaśamaḥ. Tib. ñe bar źi ba.

[20] A sarvapadīnām. Not understanding the distorted ms. Mukherji's conjecture was sarvāvaśeṣāṇām based on the Tib.

[21] P omits. Mukherji parihāṇiḥ.

pithanaṃ[22]sarvāpāyadvārāṇāṃ / satpatho vimuktipurasya[23] / apravṛttiḥ saṃsāracakrasya / pravartanaṃ[24] dharmacakrasya / ucchritacchatradhvajapatākās[25] tathāgataśāsanasya / adhiṣṭhānaṃ sarvadharmadeśanāyāḥ[26] / kṣiprasiddhir mantramukhacaryācāriṇāṃ bodhisattvānāṃ / bhāvanādhigamaḥ prajñāpāramitābhiyuktānāṃ / śūnyatāprativedhaḥ advayaprativedhabhāvanābhiyuktānāṃ[27] / niṣpattiḥ sarvapāramitāsaṃbhārasya / pariśuddhiḥ sarvabhūmipāramitāparipūryai[28] / prativedhaḥ samyakcaturāryasatyānāṃ / sarvadharmaikacittaprativedhaś catuḥsmṛtyupasthānānāṃ / yāvat parisamāptiḥ sarvabuddhaguṇānām iyaṃ nāmasaṃgītiḥ //

dvitīyacakrasyêyam anuśaṃsā tatpadāni dvāpañcāśat //

punar aparaṃ vajrapāṇe vajradhara iyaṃ nāmasaṃgītiḥ sarvasattvānāṃ aśeṣakāyavāṅmanaḥsamudācārapāpapraśamanī[1] / sarvasattvānāṃ sarvāpāyānāṃ viśodhanī[2] / sarvadurgatinivāraṇī / sarvakarmāvaraṇānāṃ samucchedanī[3] / sarvāṣṭākṣaṇasamutpādasyânutpādakarī[4] / aṣṭamahābhayavyupaśamanakarī / sarvaduḥsvapnanirnāśanī[5] / sarvadurnimittavyapohanakarī / sarvaduḥśakunavighnavyupaśamanakarī[6] / sarvamārārikarmadūrīkaraṇī / sarvakuśalamūlapuṇyasyôpacayakarī[7] / sarvāyoniśomanaskārasyânutpādanakarī[8] / sarvamadamānadarpāhaṃkāranirghātanakarī / sarvaduḥkhadaurmanasyānutpādanakarī[9] / sarvatathāgatānāṃ hṛdayabhūtā[10] / sarvabodhisattvānāṃ guhyabhūtā / sarvaśrāvakapratyekabuddhānāṃ rahasyabhūtā / sarvamudrāmantrabhūtā / sarvadharmānabhilāpyavādināṃ smṛtisaṃprajanyasaṃjananī / anuttaraprajñāmedhākarī[11] /

[22] Mukherji pidhanaṃ.

[23] A satyadhyevimuktir māgasya. Mukherji's emendation sadadhvā vimuktinagarasya.

[24] Mukherji pravarttanaṃ.

[25] P, A -patākābhis.

[26] Mukherji emends to saddharma- following Tib. dam pa'i chos, but VV reads chos thams cad (222.5.8). From here to note 25 in the third cakra is a lacuna in Mukherji's ms.

[27] Minaev śūnyatāprativedhaḥ bhāvanābhiyuktānāṃ / advayaprativedhaḥ pratibhānābhiyuktānāṃ /. The second phrase is missing in K. Our reading based on agreement between Tib. and VV (222.1.2) gñis su med pa so sor rtogs pa sgom pa mṅon par sbyor ba rnams kyi stoṅ pa ñid so sor rtogs pa'o /.

[28] P bhūmipariśuddhye. Tib. reads as pariśuddhasarva-, yoṅs su dag pa'i, but VV (223.1.3) follows our reading taken from Minaev.

Third cakra:

[1] Minaev aśaṣe- (misprint), Tib. ma lus pa.

[2] Tib. and VV read as sarvāpāyaviśodhanī, ṅan soṅ thams cad rnam par sbyoṅ. P -pāyapraśo-.

[3] Tib. and VV read as -āvaraṇasam-, las kyi sgrib pa thams cad yaṅ dag par gcod pa.

[4] P anutpādanakarī.

[5] P -pnavighnavyupaśamanakarī.

[6] P omits.

[7] Tib. and VV read as -puṇyopacayakarī, dge ba'i rtsa ba daṅ bsod nams thams cad ñe bar 'phel bar byed pa.

[8] Tib. and VV read as -manaskārānut-, yid la byed pa thams cad mi skye bar byed pa.

[9] K -pādakarī.

[10] P places this phrase before sarvamada-.

[11] P omits.

ārogyabalaiśvaryasampatkarī / śrīśubhaśāntikalyāṇapravardhanakarī / yaśaḥślokakīrtistutisaṃprakāśanakarī / sarvavyādhimahābhayapraśamanakarī[12] / pūtatarā pūtatarāṇāṃ / pavitratarā pavitratarāṇāṃ / dhanyatamā dhanyatamānāṃ / māṅgalyatamā sarvamāṅgalyatamānāṃ[13] / śaraṇaṃ śaraṇārthināṃ / layanaṃ layanārthināṃ[14] / trāṇaṃ trāṇārthināṃ / parāyaṇam aparāyaṇānāṃ[15] / dvīpabhūtā dvīpārthināṃ[16] / agatikānām anuttaragatikabhūtā[17] / yānapātrabhūtā bhavasamudrapāragāmināṃ / mahābhaiṣajyarājabhūtā sarvavyādhinirghātanāya[18] / prajñābhūtā heyopādeyabhāvavibhāvanāyai[19] / jñānālokabhūtā sarvatamo'ndhakārakudṛṣṭyapanayanāya[20] / cintāmaṇibhūtā sarvasattvayathāśayābhiprāyaparipūraṇāya[21] / sarvajñajñānabhūtā mañjuśrījñānakāyapratilambhāya / pariśuddhajñānadarśanabhūtā[22] pañcacakṣuḥpratilambhāya / ṣaṭpāramitāparipūribhūtā āmiṣābhayadharmadānotsarjanatayā[23] / daśabhūmipratilambhabhūtā puṇyajñānasaṃbhārasamādhiparipūraṇatayā / advayadharmatā dvayadharmavigatatvāt / tathatārūpatānanyadharmatâdhyāropavigatatvāt[24] / bhūtakoṭirūpatā pariśuddhatathāgatajñānakāyasvabhāvatayā / sarvākāramahāśūnyatārūpatā[25] aśeṣakudṛṣṭigahanagatinirghātanatayā[26] / sarvadharmānabhilāpyarūpêyaṃ[27] nāmasaṃgītir yad utâdvayadharmatārthaṃ nāmasaṃdhāraṇaprakāśanatayêti[28] //

[12] P -bhayavyupaśamanakarī. Tib. as -bhayopaśa-, ñe bar źi bar byed pa'o.

[13] P sarvamaṅgalya-. Our reading verified by VV (223.4.5) rab tu bkra śis pa thams cad kyi yaṅ rab tu bkra śis pa'o. Tib. omits sarva-. Minaev sarvamaṅgalānāṃ māṅgalyatamā.

[14] Tib. and VV read as alayanānāṃ.

[15] P parāyaṇārthināṃ which agrees with VV (223.4.7) dpuṅ gñen 'dod pa rnams, but Tib. verifies our reading, dpuṅ gñen med pa rnams.

[16] Minaev dīpabhūtā dīpārthināṃ. Tib. and VV (223.4.7) gliṅ 'dod pa rnams kyi gliṅ du gyur pa'o. A common series in Mahāyāna sūtras, cf. P.L. Vaidya ed., *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, Buddhist Sanskrit Texts Series no. 4 (Darbhanga: Mithila Institute, 1960), p. 146.27; idem, *Kāraṇḍavyūha* in *Mahāyānasūtrasaṃgraha*, Buddhist Sanskrit Texts Series no. 17 (Darbhanga: Mithila Institute, 1961), p. 285.18.

[17] Minaev -gatibhūtā. Tib. rten med pa rnams kyi bla na med pa'i rten du gyur ro. vide *Kāraṇḍavyūha*, p. 285.17.

[18] Minaev -nirghātanayā. Tib. ṅes par 'joms pa'i phyir. Phyir, however, can translate from either the dative or ablative, but the form (-ana) and the context seem to require the dative. vide BHSG p. 120 (22.7) and p. 179 (36.15).

[19] Minaev -vibhāvanayā. Tib. rnam par dbye ba'i phyir. vide preceding note. This form recorded by Minaev is not likely to be the oblique fem. of BHSG p. 64 (9.43).

[20] From P, but Minaev -nayanāt. Tib. bsal ba'i phyir and cf. note 15 *supra*, again the context indicating a dative.

[21] From P. Minaev -pūraṇāt. Tib. yoṅs su rdzogs pa'i phyir. cf. note 15.

[22] P -ādarśana-. Tib. gzig pa.

[23] K omits -dharmadāna-. P -otsṛ-.

[24] Minaev tathātā-. Tib. de bźin ñid. P -dharmatārūpatâdhy-.

[25] Mukherji -śūnyatāsvabhāvatā.

[26] P -nirghoṣatayā. Mukherji -gahananirākaraṇena. A gatigahananirkṣātanatayā. Tib. ṅes par sel ba ñid kyis.

[27] Mukherji -lāpyabhūtā. Tib. brjod du med par gyur pa. VV (224.1.2) as -svabhāvatā, raṅ bźin ñid.

[28] So Minaev and Mukherji, verified by VV (224.1.2). But Tib. reads as -dharmatārthanāma-, chos ñid kyi don daṅ miṅ.

tṛtīyacakrasyêyam anuśaṃsā tatpadāni dvāpañcāśat //

punar aparaṃ[1] vajrapāṇe vajradhara yaḥ kaścit kulaputro vā kuladuhitā vā mantramukhacaryācārī[2] imāṃ bhagavato mañjuśrījñānasattvasya sarvatathāgatajñānakāyasya[23] jñānamūrter advayaparamārthāṃ nāmasaṃgītiṃ nāmacūḍāmaṇiṃ[4] sakalaparisamāptām anyūnām akhaṇḍām ebhir eva gāthāpadavyañjanaiḥ[5] pratyaham akhaṇḍaṃ[6] triṣkālaṃ[7] dhārayiṣyati vācayiṣyati paryavāpsyati[8] yoniśaś ca manasikariṣyati[9] / parebhyaś ca vistareṇa yathāsamayaṃ yathāyogyato yāvat[10] saṃprakāśayiṣyati pratyekaṃ cânyatamānyatamanāmārthaṃ[11] / mañjuśrījñānakāyam ālambanīkṛtya[12]ekāgramānaso bhāvayiṣyati / adhimuktitattvamanaskārābhyāṃ[13] samantamukhavihāravihārī sarvadharmaprativedhikayā[14] paramayā anāvilayā prajñānuviddhayā śraddhayā samanvāgataḥ saṃs tasya[15] tryadhvānadhvasamaṅginaḥ[16] sarvabuddhabodhisattvāḥ samāgamya saṃgamya sarvadharmamukhāny upadarśayiṣyanti[17] / ātmabhāvaṃ côpadarśayiṣyanti / durdāntadamakāś ca mahākrodharājāno[18] mahāvajradharādayo jagatparitrāṇabhūtā[19] nānānirmāṇarūpakāyair ojobalaṃ tejo 'pradhṛṣyatāṃ sarvamudrāmantrābhisamayamaṇḍalāny upadarśayiṣyanti / aśeṣāś ca mantravidyārājñyaḥ sarvavighnavināyakamārārimahāpratyaṅgirāmahāparājitāḥ[20] sarā-

Fourth cakra:

[1] Mukherji omits punar.

[2] After this Mukherji adds bodhisattvānāṃ.

[3] Compound omitted by P.

[4] Compound as read by Minaev verified by VV (224.1.6 and 224.5.3) mtshan gyi gtsug gi nor bu.

[5] Minaev omits gāthā-. Mukherji's reading verified by Tib. and VV (224.1.6).

[6] Omitted by K, Mukherji.

[7] So K, but Minaev, Mukherji trikālaṃ, vide BHSD p. 258, and cf. v. 141a.

[8] After paryavāpsyati Mukherji inserts pravarttayiṣyati.

[9] Minaev yoniśoman-, vide BHSD p. 448.

[10] Minaev omits vistareṇa yathāsamayaṃ and yāvat. Mukherji omits yathāyogyataḥ. A replaces yathāsamayaṃ with yathāśayaṃ. Tib. verifies our reading gźan rnams la yaṅ dus ji lta bar rgyas par ji lta ba bźin.

[11] Mukherji -nāmārthamañju-.

[12] Mukherji sākṣāt kṛtya. A -kāyarupam ālambanakṛtya.

[13] Minaev -muktikatattva-.

[14] Minaev sarvadhama- (misprint). A omits serva-. Mukherji -pratibedhi-.

[15] Mukherji santasya.

[16] A adds after this, sarvabuddhabodhisatvānugrahaṇatvānugrahāpyaṃ śi / sā.

[17] After this A and Tib. reorder the text by inserting a long interpolation, sarvabuddhabodhisattvādhiṣṭhānañ ca sarvakāyavāṅmanobhiḥ tasya santāne samyagadhiṣṭhāsyanti / sarvadharmavaiśāradyapratibhānaṃ côpasaṃhariṣyanti / [sarvārhatśrāva]kapratyekabuddhā āryadharma[miṣṭāśayena]. This is substantially the text of the later section in our edition beginning sarvabuddhabodhisattvādhiṣṭhānaṃ to ye ca, which A and Tib. then omit. This interpolation is doubtless the result of restructuring the text to put all the protecting deities in close proximity. VV and Minaev agree on the text as read by us.

[18] A mahāvajrakrodharājamahā-.

[19] Mukherji jagatparipālabhūtā. After the verb upadarśayiṣyanti at the end of this sentence, Mukherji's ms. is missing the rest of the anuśaṃsā.

[20] Minaev -vināyakamārāṇāṃ mahā-. P omits sarvavighnavināyakamārāri-. Our reading based on VV (224.3.1) bgegs daṅ / log 'dren daṅ / bdud kyi dgra daṅ / phyir

trimdivaṃ pratikṣaṇaṃ sarveryāpatheṣu rakṣāvaraṇaguptiṃ kariṣyanti[21] / sarvabuddhabodhisattvādhiṣṭhānaṃ kariṣyanti / sarvakāyavāṅmanobhis tasya saṃtāne samyag adhiṣṭhāsyanti / sarvabuddhabodhisattvānugraheṇa cânugrahīṣyanti / sarvadharmavaiśāradyapratibhānaṃ[22] côpasaṃhariṣyanti / sarvārhacchrāvakapratyekabuddhāryadharmapremāśayatayā ātmabhāvaṃ côpadarśayiṣyanti / ye ca brahmendropendrarudranārāyaṇasanatkumāramaheśvarakārttikeyamahākālanandikeśvarayamavaruṇakuverahārītīdaśadiglokapālāś ca satatasamitaṃ sarātriṃdivaṃ gacchatas tiṣṭhataḥ śayānasya niṣaṇṇasya[23] svapato jāgrataḥ[24] samāhitasyâsamāhitasya ca ekākino bajujanamadhyagatasya ca yāvad grāmanagaranigamajanapadarāṣṭrarājadhānīmadhyagatasyêndrakīlarathyāpratolīnagaradvāravīthīcatvaraśṛṅgāṭakanagarāntarāpaṇapaṇyaśālāmadhyagatasya[25] yāvac chūnyāgaragirikandaranadīvanagahanopagatasya[26] ucchiṣṭasyânucchiṣṭasya mattasya pramattasya sarvadā sarvathā sarvaprakāraṃ[27] ca parāṃ rakṣāvaraṇaguptiṃ kariṣyanti / ratriṃdivaṃ[28] paraṃ svastyayanaṃ kariṣyanti / ye cânye devanāgayakṣagandharvāsuragaruḍakiṃnaramahoragā manuṣyāmanuṣyāś ca ye cânye grahanakṣatramātṛgaṇapatayo yāś ca sapta mātaro yāś ca yakṣiṇīrākṣasīpiśācyas[29] tāḥ sarvāḥ sahitāḥ samagrāḥ sasainyāḥ[30] saparivārāḥ[31] sarve te rakṣāvaraṇaguptiṃ kariṣyanti / paraṃ ca tasya kāye ojobalaṃ prakṣepsyanti / ārogyabalam āyurvṛddhiṃś côpasaṃhariṣyanti //

caturthacakrasyêyam anuśaṃsā tatpadāny ekonaviṃśati //

punar aparaṃ vajrapāṇe vajradhara ya imāṃ nāmasaṃgītiṃ nāmacūḍāmaṇiṃ pratyaham akhaṇḍasamādānatas triḥkṛtvā kaṇṭhagatām[1] āvartayiṣyati / pustakagatāṃ vā paṭhamānaḥ pravartayiṣyati / bhagavato mañjuśrījñānasattvasya rūpam ālambayann anuvicintayaṃs tatrūpam anudhyāyan / tam eva rūpakāyenâcirād eva dharmavinayam upādāya drakṣyati[2] / gaganatalagatāṃś ca sarvabuddhabodhisattvān nānānirmāṇarūpakāyaiḥ sahagatān drakṣyati[3] / na tasya

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log pa daṅ / gźan gyi mi tshugs pa chen po thams cad... Tib. similarly but with slightly different equivalents for the names.

[21] P omits kariṣyanti.

[22] So Mukherji, vide note 17 *supra*. Minaev sarvadharmānāṃ vaiśāradyaṃ tasya pratibhānaṃ tac côpasaṃhariṣyanti, which, from VV (224.3.5) we can see is the text as analyzed by Vilāsavajra in his commentary. de la chos thams cad kyi mi 'jigs pa de'i spobs pa ni chos thams cad la mi 'jigs pa'i spobs pa'o/.

[23] Minaev niṣaṇasya.

[24] P jāgratasya.

[25] P omits nagadvāra (? Minaev's apparatus unclear).

[26] P -gadatoya- for -gahanopa-.

[27] Omitted by K.

[28] K -dinaṃ.

[29] P piśācīrākṣasyaḥ.

[30] K omits.

[31] After this Minaev, P add sānucarāḥ, not in K, Tib. or VV.

Fifth cakra:

[1] P kāyakaṇṭha-.

[2] Minaev yadrakṣati. K satvāśayavaśād rakṣati. Tib. seems to read as vineyavaśam upādāya drakṣyati, gdul bya'i dbaṅ ñe bar bzuṅ nas mthoṅ bar 'gyur, which we assume is a misreading of vinaya as vineya. So VV (224.5.6) 'dul ba'i dbaṅ gi phyir.

[3] So P with Tib. and VV mthoṅ bar 'gyur, which agrees with the other future tenses, but Minaev drakṣati.

mahāsattvasya jātu kadācit kathamapi durgatyapāyapatanaṃ ca bhaviṣyati / nīcakulopapattir na bhaviṣyati / pratyantajanapadopapattir na bhaviṣyati / na hīnendriyo bhaviṣyati / na vikalendriyo bhaviṣyati / na mithyādṛṣṭikulopapattir bhaviṣyati / nâbuddheṣu buddhakṣetreṣûpapatsyate[4] / na buddhotpādataddeśitadharmavimukhaparokṣatā bhaviṣyati / na ca dīrghāyuṣkeṣu deveṣûpapatsyate[4] / na ca durbhikṣarogaśastrāntarakalpeṣûpapatsyate[4] / na ca pañcakaṣāyakāleṣûpapatsyate[4] / na ca rājaśatrucaurabhayaṃ bhaviṣyati / na ca sarvavaikalyadāridrabhayaṃ / na câślokābhyākhyānanindāyaśo'kīrtibhayaṃ bhaviṣyati / sujātikulagotrasaṃpannaś ca[5] bhaviṣyati / samantaprāsādikarūpavarṇasamanvāgato bhaviṣyati / priyo manaāpasukhasaṃvāsapriyadarśanaś[6] ca lokānāṃ bhaviṣyati / śubhasaubhāgyādeyavākyaś ca sattvānāṃ[7] bhaviṣyati / sa yatra yatrôpapatsyate[4] tatra tatra jātau jātau jātismaro bhaviṣyati / mahābhogo mahāparivāro 'kṣayabhogo 'kṣayaparivāro bhaviṣyati / agraṇīḥ sarvasattvānām agraguṇasamanvāgato[8] bhaviṣyati[9] / prakṛtyā ca ṣaṭpāramitāguṇaiḥ samanvāgato bhaviṣyati / caturbrahmavihāravihārī ca bhaviṣyati / smṛtisaṃprajanyopāyabalapraṇidhijñānaiḥ[10]samanvāgataś ca[11] bhaviṣyati / sarvaśāstraviśārado vāgmī ca bhaviṣyati / spaṣṭavāgajaḍapaṭumatir bhaviṣyati / dakṣo 'nalasaḥ saṃtuṣṭo mahārtho vitṛṣṇaś[12] ca bhaviṣyati / paramaviśvāsī ca sarvasattvānāṃ bhaviṣyati / ācāryopādhyāyagurūṇāṃ ca saṃmato[13] bhavati / aśrutapūrvāṇi ca tasya śilpakalābhijñājñānaśāstrāṇi[14] cârthato granthataś ca pratibhāsam[15] āgamiṣyati[16] / supariśuddhaśīlājīvasamudācāracārī[17] ca bhaviṣyati / supravrajitaḥ sūpasaṃpannaś[18] ca bhaviṣyati / apramuṣitasarvajñatāmahābodhicittaś ca bhaviṣyati / na jātu[19] śrāvakārhatpratyekabuddhaniyāmāvakrāntigataś[20] ca bhaviṣyati //

[4] So K with Tib. and VV skye bar mi 'gyur, but Minaev, P upapadyate.

[5] After this Minaev, P add lokānām.

[6] K omits manaāpa-.

[7] K lokasya. Tib. as lokānām, 'jig rten pa rnams kyi.

[8] Tib. reads as agrapaṇidhijñānasam-, mchog tu gyur pa'i smon lam daṅ ye śes daṅ yaṅ dag par... doubtless an interpolation from the similar phrase *infra*.

[9] After this Minaev adds from P anyaiś câprameyair evaṃprakārair guṇagaṇaiḥ samanvāgato bhaviṣyati /. Does not occur in K, Tib. or VV and is undoubtedly an interpolation from the beginning of the sixth cakra.

[10] P -prakṛtijñānaiḥ (? Minaev's apparatus unclear). Tib. and VV read with Minaev which we follow.

[11] So K, Minaev from P samanvāgato.

[12] Minaev mahārthavitṛṣṇaś, but Tib. and VV (225.2.8) don che ba daṅ / sred pa med par 'gyur /.

[13] P saṃpanno. Tib. and VV (225.3.1) read as ācāryagurusaṃmato bhaviṣyati, slob dpon daṅ / bla mar bskur bar bya bar 'gyur ro /.

[14] Tib. omits -abhijñā-, but VV retains.

[15] VV (225.3.2) omits pratibhāsaṃ.

[16] Minaev āgacchanti, but Tib. and VV (225.3.2) understand -śāstrāṇi in accusative.

[17] P -lo jīvasamudācārī bhavati. Tib. verifies our reading.

[18] Minaev sarvasaṃpannaś. K sūryasaṃpannaś. Tib. and VV (225.3.3) legs par bsñen par rdzogs pa. vide *Mahāvyutpatti*, 1093, and BHSD p. 143.

[19] Omitted by K.

[20] Minaev -niyama-, but Tib. and VV (225.3.6) ṅes pa. vide *Mahāvyutpatti*, 6501, BHSD p. 298.

pañcamacakrasyêyam anuśaṃsā tatpadāny ekapañcāśat[21] //

evaṃ vajrapāṇe vajradhara aprameyaguṇasamanvāgato 'sau[1] mantramukhacaryācārī[2] bhaviṣyati / anyaiś câprameyair evaṃprakārair evaṃjātīyair[1] guṇagaṇaiḥ samanvāgato bhaviṣyati / acirād eva vajrapāṇe vajradhara paramārthanāmasaṃgītisaṃdhārakapuruṣapuṃgavaḥ[3] susaṃbhṛtapuṇyajñānasaṃbhāraḥ[4] kṣiprataraṃ buddhaguṇān samudānīyânuttarāṃ samyaksaṃbodhim[5] abhisaṃbhotsyate / analpakalyāṇaparinirvāṇadharmaḥ[6] sarvasattvānām anuttaradharmadeśako 'dhiṣṭhito daśadiksaddharmadundubhir dharmarāja iti /

ṣaṣṭhacakrasyânuśaṃsā tatpadāny aprameyāṇi[7] //

oṃ sarvadharmābhāvasvabhāvaviśuddhavajra[1] a ā[2] aṃ aḥ / prakṛtipariśuddhāḥ sarvadharmā yad uta sarvatathāgatajñānakāyamañjuśrīpariśuddhitām[4] upādāyêti[5] a āḥ[6] sarvatathāgatahṛdayaṃ[7] hara hara / oṃ hūṃ hrīḥ bhagavan[8] jñānamūrttivāgīśvara[9] mahāvāca[10] sarvadharmagaganāmalasupariśuddhadharmadhātujñānagarbha[11] āḥ /
mantravinyāsaḥ[12] //

atha vajradharaḥ śrīmāṃ hṛṣṭatuṣṭaḥ kṛtāñjaliḥ /
praṇamya nāthaṃ saṃbuddhaṃ bhagavantaṃ tathāgataṃ // (163)
anyaiś ca bahuvidhair nāthair guhyendrair vajrapāṇibhiḥ /
sa sārdhaṃ krodharājānaiḥ provācôccair idaṃ vacaḥ // (164)

[21] K (= VV) omits this division title and at the end of the sixth cakra refers to the combined fifth and sixth cakras as the fifth cakra.
Sixth cakra:
[1] P omits.
[2] P and Tib. omit but reading verified by K and VV.
[3] Minaev -paramārthānāma-. Tib. don dam pa'i mtshan... Minaev -dhārakaḥ, but P reads in samāsa as does Tib. yaṅ dag par 'dzin pa'i skyes bu gaṅ zag.
[4] K susaṃbhaga-.
[5] Minaev samyakasaṃ- (misprint).
[6] Minaev -nivāṇa- (misprint).
[7] Vide fifth cakra note 19 *supra*.
Mantravinyāsa:
[1] Vira, Mukherji -vajra.
[2] Tib. (bLo gros brtan pa) āḥ.
[3] Vira -dharmāḥ / yaduta.
[4] B sarvapāramitātathāgata-. Vira -mañjuśrījñānapariśuddhis tām. Tib. mañjuśrījñānapari-.
[5] M upādāyati.
[6] Mukherji, Vira aṃ aḥ. Ne a ā oṃ. B a ā. Tib. ā aḥ. Y omits.
[7] Minaev, Tib., B -hṛdaya.
[8] Bi, Mukherji, Tib. bhagavān.
[9] Vira (conjectural emendation) -mūrtte. Minaev -mūrte.
[10] Tib. māhāvāca.
[11] Tib. sarvadharmā-.
[12] Minaev -vinyāśaḥ.
v. 164: Vira guhyendravajra-. Ne guhyendro. Vira -rājanyaiḥ. M -rājānai. Minaev -rājanaiḥ. Y -rājapro-. Minaev provācauccair.

anumodāmahe nātha sādhu sādhu subhāṣitaṃ /
kṛto 'smākaṃ mahān arthaḥ samyaksambodhiprāpakaḥ // (165)

jagataś câpy anāthasya vimuktiphalakāṃkṣiṇaḥ /
śreyomārgo viśuddho 'yaṃ māyājālanayoditaḥ // (166)

gambhīrodāravaipulyo mahārtho jagadarthakṛt /
buddhānāṃ viṣayo hy eṣa samyaksaṃbuddhadeśitaḥ // (167)

ity upasaṃhāragāthāḥ pañca //

āryamāyājālāt ṣoḍaśasāhasrikān mahāyogatantrāntaḥpātisamādhijālapaṭalād bhagavattathāgataśākyamunibhāṣitā bhagavato mañjuśrījñānasattvasya paramārthā nāmasaṃgītiḥ parisamāptā //

v. 165: Ne subhāṣitaḥ.
v. 166: Mukherjī, Bi câsyânāthasya.
v. 167: Y -vaipulya. Mukherji -vipulo. Bi (Mukherji alone reporting) -vipulyo. B -vaipuro. Minaev, Ne -buddhabhāṣitaḥ.
Division title: Y omits.
Colophon: Minaev -māyājālā-. B -jālādhipaṭalād. Mukherji bhagavān (for bhagavat-). Ne, B bhagavan (for bhagavat-). Ne -śrīśākyamuninā bhāṣitā. B -srīsākyamuni-. B advayaparamārthā. Following the colophon Minaev gives the mantras (vv. 26-27) once more and then another prose section which is but an extracted summary of the six cakras of the anuśaṃsā and is entitled anuśaṃsāstutiḥ. This section was apparently developed in a ms. tradition which omitted the longer discussion of benefits. It is found at the end of Minaev ms. Y and Matsunami's *Catalogue*, ms. no. 212.